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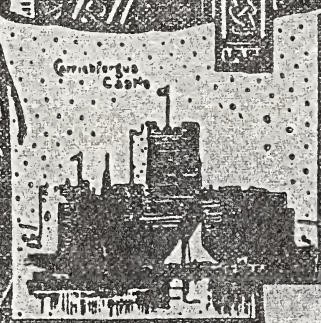

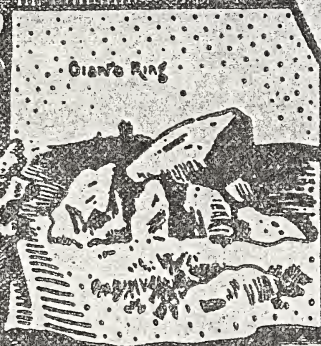

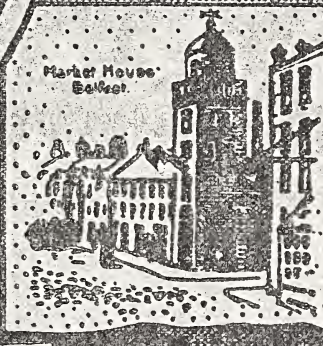

Devoted to the Investigation
of the
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE PROVINCE.

VOL. XIII. 1907.

DAVIDSON & M'CORMACK,
The North Gate Printing Works,
BELFAST.

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ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY

Seal of Hugh O'Neill, King of Ulster

Volume XIII

BELFAST
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History

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AODH O'NEILL, PRINCE OF ULSTER.

(From original in Belfast Art Gallery.)

ULSTER JOURNAL
OF
ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XIII. FEBRUARY, 1907. No. 1

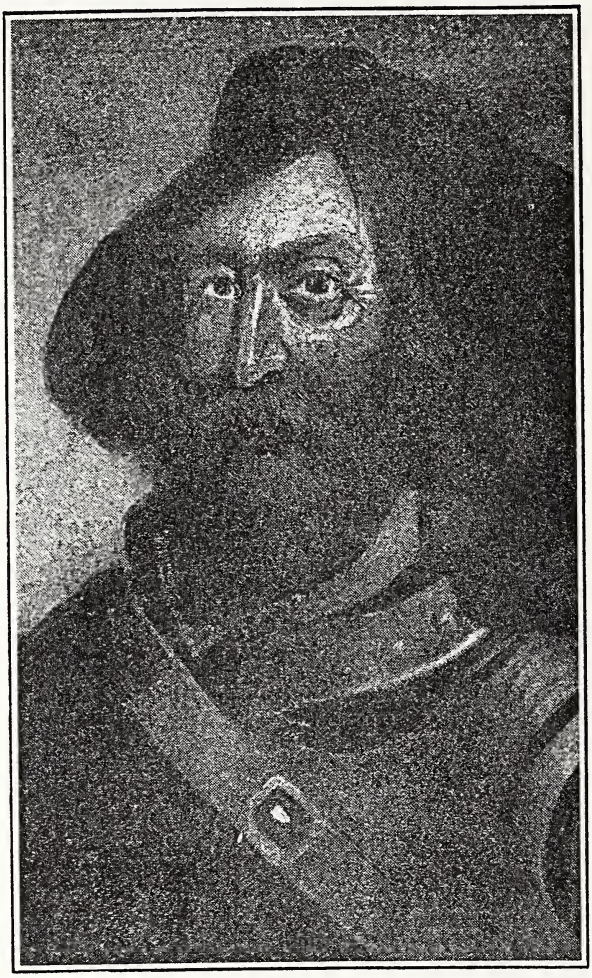
Supposed Portraits of Aodh O'Neill, Prince of Tireoghan.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

IN volume ix., as a frontispiece, I gave a portrait of Aodh O'Neill, from a Roman book dated 1680, which is probably the most authentic portrait of the great Aodh in existence. Father Meehan, in his *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls, &c.*, gives a by no means accurate representation of this portrait in colours, losing much of the dignity and grace of the original. As O'Neill died at Rome in 1616, this portrait was not reproduced until fifty-four years afterwards, so that it is hard to say what is its exact veracity. There are in the Grainger Collection, Belfast, two small old portraits in oil, painted on wooden panels, and endorsed "Hugh, last earl of Tyrone." I here reproduce them, not in anywise vouching for their accuracy, but to make them public, and so elicit wider opinion and more extended criticism. It is quite possible they may be authentic—who can say?

There appears to be no record amongst Canon Grainger's papers of how or where he obtained them, so even that clue is lost. On one has been painted the red hand, and this is in many respects a representation of what O'Neill might have been in the glory of his martial career, and bears some resemblance, especially above the nose, to the portrait taken at an older age,

already referred to. The second portrait with the hat closely resembles it. They both depict a strong man physically and mentally, a man of iron will, bold, courageous, and determined. The third portrait, the one with the Irish crown, shows a similar face at an older stage. All three are in the armour



AODH O'NEILL.
(From original in Belfast Art Gallery.)

of the period. The crown may have been added to show the princely race of O'Neill. We are not told that he ever wore one. This portrait was acquired by the O'Neill of Lisbon some years ago. It had been brought to Belfast by a reduced family from Dublin, one of whom had been in office in

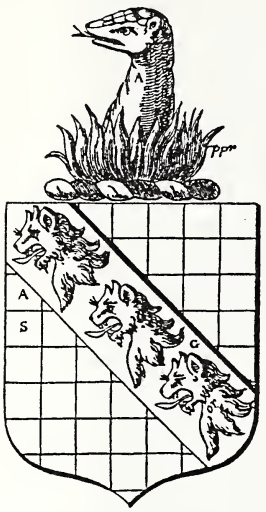
the Viceregal Lodge, where it was said he had found it stowed away in a lumber room, and that it had formerly hung in Dublin Castle. Such was the story told by the possessor of the picture. On inspecting it I came to the conclusion that it was very old, very curious, and painted with no mean skill, especially the features. It now very properly adorns the castle walls of the exiled O'Neill in Lisbon. Any further information or opinions regarding these portraits will be welcome to the writer.

AODH O'NEILL.
(From original in possession of the O'Neill, Lisbon.

The Hovendens:

Foster Brothers of Aodh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster (Earl of Tireoghan).

By John J. Marshall.



ARMS OF HOVENDEN.

IN the great historical drama enacted upon the Irish stage during the latter portion of the sixteenth century, the chief actor was Aodh O'Neill, and in close contact with this master spirit of the Gaels, as captain, as councillor, and as confidant, was not a relative by blood to the house of O'Neill, nor even a clansman bound by ties of fosterage, but an Englishman named Henry Hovenden.

All students of the Irish State papers and history of the Elizabethan period are aware that amongst the minor actors no name crops up more frequently in the records, and that often negotiations of a national importance were influenced by O'Neill's "astute secretary," Henry Hovenden, who with his brother Richard, was in the service of O'Neill.

How came these Hovendens to be associated with O'Neill is a question that has been asked probably by persons other than the present writer, who proposes to set down here all that he has been able to collect upon the subject.

1585. In the Records of the College of Arms, London, there appears the confirmation of arms and grant of crest to "John Hoveden, of Killeban, in Ireland the son of giles Hoveden who was the fyrst that went into Ireland in H. 8 tyme, the armes auncient of Hovdens in England of great continuance."

CONFIRMATION OF ARMS AND GRANT OF CREST TO JOHN HOVENDEN.[1]

Her. Off. F. 12 *fo.* 217.

. . . [2] a mongest the which nomber John Hoveden of Killeban in the

[1] The beginning and end of this grant is not given in the Records of the College of Arms.

[2] This coat of arms was borne by Richard Hovenden, of Boycot, in the parish of Ulcombe, Co. Kent, in the first year of the reign of Henry VII. (1485-6). See Hasted, vol. ii., page 424.

quenes county of leixe in the realme of Ireland gentilman, being the Ryght full bearers of theys sochens of honor by just decent, parentage and p' hemynance of birth from his auncestors who long since very aunciently, as may appeare by the Regesters and Recordes of my office, hath, for ther famyly and surname of Hoveden wth in the Realme of england, borne the auncient Cote of arms hereafter followyng to wyt Checkye Silver and Sables on bende gules iij lyones heades Rased golde, and that not knowyng of any creast or cognisance properly belongyng to the same, as unto very many auncient Armes there be none, hath therefore Required me the sayd Clarencieulx Kyng of Armes to serche discover and deliver vnto him out of the Auncient Regysters of myne offis his sayd auncient Armes wth creast or cognisance to be addyd, mete and lawfull to be borne w^th^out preiudice or offence of any other. In considerac'on wherof I the sayd Clarencieulx Kyng of Armes by Power and aucthoritye to me conveyed by letters patentes vnder the great Seale of england, have not onely searched discon'ed and delivered vnto the said John Hovede' the auncient Armes of his famyly and Surname aforsayd but also herby assigned gyven graunted and addyd vnto the sayd John Hovede', his famyly and surname, his sayd Auncient Armes, and for his creast or cognisance vpon the helme on a wreth Silver and Sables a Sallemanders head Silver out of the flames of fyer proper, manteled gules dobeled silver as more pleanly appereth depycted in the margent which Armes and Creast I the sayd Clarencieulx Kyng of Armes do Ratifye and confyrme vnto the sayd John Hoveden and to his posterity.[1] "

From this grant it will be seen that the Hovendens were an old Kentish family, and the Giles Hovenden referred to was Captain of Light Horse in 1532, and in 1544 Commissioner for the Government of Connacht, and of the territory of Clanricard, being at that time Captain of 100 horse.[2] In 1551, in conjunction with James, 15th Earl of Desmond, for that of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. He obtained the lordship of Killaban, 29th November, 1549. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Cheevers, and left (with a daughter Joanne, wife of Captain John Barrington, of Cullenagh Castle, ancestor of the famous Sir Jonah Barrington) several sons.

1. John, of Killaban, died 1619. 2. Peter, or Piers. 3. Richard. 4. Walter. 5. Henry.

There are a few unimportant notices of Giles Ovington's services, from which we gather that he was a capable official, and was, no doubt, rewarded with grants of land and other emoluments by Sir Anthony St. Leger, both being of the parish of Ulcomb, county Kent, who, on the 31st July, 1537,

[1] *Genealogical Memoranda Relating to the Family of Hovenden.* Part 1. Privately printed, London, 1872.

[2] Cal. Car. MSS.

was placed at the head of a Commission to enquire into the state of Ireland. His ability in the conduct of this Commission no doubt largely influenced Henry in appointing him Lord Deputy, 7th July, 1540, and in this capacity, as Governor of Ireland, his neighbour, Giles Hovenden, would find a friend and patron who would afford him opportunities for service and fitting recompense.

1558; June The first glimpse we get of the Hovenden-O'Neill connection, is contained in a petition of Con, Earl of Tireon, to Queen Elizabeth, in which he prays that Giles Ovington may be made to surrender the lease of Ballgriffin, in the county of Dublin, amongst a number of other requests.[1] There is no account of how the matter was finally settled, but his fellow-parishioner, St. Leger, had handed over his staff of office to Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, 26th May, 1556, and Hovenden, who had acquired a large amount of land, may have retired from the more active duties of official life, as this is the last notice of him that occurs.

After this there is no appearance of the Hovendens for a number of years, during which great political changes were taking place in Ireland: Seaghan an Diomas, like a meteor, had flashed across the northern sky, and vanished in the night, but leaving behind him sons well-nigh as proud and valiant as himself, while stout old Turlogh Laigneac had been invested with the white wand of chieftainship, and ruled as *O'Neill*, from Strabane or Benburb. The disappearance of Seaghan, who was a terror to Elizabeth's English Government, and the elevation of Turlogh Laigneac, to be the ruler of Tireon, rendered it necessary that the Queen's Government, in pursuance of their usual policy, should have a "Queen's O'Neill," who would form a counter party amongst the clan, and so help to divide the power wielded by the Chief, should he object to the Anglicization of his country, or not prove a sufficiently pliant tool in carrying out the Queen's projects. In Aodh O'Neill, who, after the murder of his elder brother, Brian, by Turlogh Laigneac, in 1562, became Baron of Dungannon, the English Government found a counterpoise to the authority of the reigning Chief. Queen Elizabeth was a stickler for legitimate descent, and entailed estates when it suited her purpose. Aodh's father, if an O'Neill at all, was illegitimate—so much the better. Should he not answer Queen Elizabeth's expectation and act as her puppet, what better excuse could be desired for throwing him over?

In pursuance, therefore, of this policy, Aodh O'Neill was taken over to the English Court for safety, as Tireon was not deemed a healthy locality for the residence of any aspirant to the chieftainship, neither during the tenure of office by Turlogh Laigneac, nor when held by Aodh himself, as to more than one this line of action was productive of fatal results. Another reason was

[1] Cal. S.P.I.

that he might acquire English habits, and English methods of government and statecraft. What wonder, then, that under such masters as Cecil and Walsingham, not to speak of Elizabeth herself, O'Neill's diplomacy was crooked, or that he fought them with their own weapons; his great fault, indeed, being that he was more than a match for them at their own game, and amidst all the stress and storm of that stirring time, when the chieftain of Tireon pitted the strength of his territory against the puissance of a kingdom, whether in council or on foray, his most astute and trusted counsellor was his foster-brother, Henry Hovenden.

We have already seen that Con, Earl of Tireon, Aodh O'Neill's grandfather, had some connection with Captain Giles Hovenden, and the only way that the tie of fosterage between his family and Aodh O'Neill could come into being, is that in his early days, O'Neill had been placed for a time in the household of the military captain and English Government Official as a fitting part of his training. Or this interesting period in his life we have no record, but it undoubtedly must have taken place, as it is the only satisfactory explanation that can be offered of this obscure event, that was to procure for him so faithful and so capable a follower.

The first time we find the Hovendens mentioned in connection with Aodh O'Neill, after his return from England, is in a letter from the Lords Justices to the Privy Council, wherein they mention the "ending of a contention between the Baron of Dungannon and Viscount Gormanstown.[1] The charge of the borders committed to Dungannon. His foster-brother, Ovington, an Englishman.[2]" The statement regarding Henry Ovington being an Englishman may have been correct in so far that the nationality of a man follows that of his parents, but he was in all probability born in Ireland, and from this time onward plays an important part in all the affairs of O'Neill. 1583; August 23rd.

Later on in the same year we find him at the English Court as a messenger from the Baron of Dungannon to Burghley, and Hovenden also petitions the Privy Council to grant O'Neill's suit.[3] In this he had a direct interest, as the petition was for certain sums of money as arrears of pay due to O'Neill's bands, of which he was a Captain, and which they were praying the scanty Treasury of Elizabeth to grant. These bands, the Baron of Dungannon, as Captain of his country, kept ostensibly for the service of the English Government; they consisted of both horse and foot soldiers, and were different in training to the usual following of an Irish Chief, as O'Neill, if he had not already learned it under Giles Hovenden, had during his residence in England, become expert in the English mode of discipline and warfare as well as 1583; Nov. 30th.

[1] Christopher Preston, 4th Visct. Gormanstown, who died 4th Jan., 1599, was descended from Sir Robert Preston, 1st Lord Gormanstown, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, who died 1396.

[2] Cal. S.P.I. [3] Cal. S.P.I.

his own Irish fashion. The amount due, which was set down with the precision of a modern accountant, totalled the sum of £1,174 3s. 6¼d., being clear remains due for his foot-band and his horse-band, down to July 29th, 1583."[1]

1585; June 30th — The next mention of Henry Hovenden is also as a messenger or ambassador to the English Privy Council from Aodh O'Neill, Earl of Tireon, with a petition to have that title confirmed on him and his heir's male.

Part of the petition was granted, and in 1587 O'Neill received Queen Elizabeth's letters patent under the Great Seal of England for the Earldom of Tireon, which was a step further in bestowing on him all the honours and authority possessed by his grandfather, Con, first Earl of Tireon.

1586; May 21st — The English had ere this become suspicious of O'Neill's growing power, which daily augmented as Turlogh Laigneac grew older and more feeble. Hovenden is once more a messenger to Burghley, who paid to him for O'Neill a sum of money, acknowledging which O'Neill naively asks that judgment of him be suspended till he can repair over.[2]

In the winter of 1587 Aodh Ruadh O'Donnell was kidnapped by Sir John Perrott, and held as a hostage for the clan of which his father Aodh O'Donnell was chief. Although but a lad of fifteen or sixteen, he was already betrothed to O'Neill's daughter, and was also the favourite of the clansmen for the chieftainship in succession to his father, in preference to several other candidates, some of whose claims by the law of Tanistry were much stronger. We may, therefore, take it as only in course that O'Neill should write to the English Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, "touching the enlargement of O'Donnell's son who married his daughter, and also the continuance of the Government's maintenance to him, &c. I have written to Captain Walter Hovenden to resort to your honour touching these causes, unto whom I beseech your honour to impart your resolution in this behalf." This Captain Walter Hovenden was the fourth son of Giles Hovenden, and was slain, with the total defeat of his band and that of Sir Warham St. Ledger, by the Irish under Onie MacRuadri,[3] Tyrell, and Nugent, 7th December, 1597.[4]

1588; Feb. 23rd

In the early days of September the storm-beaten remains of King Philip's Armada came sweeping on the Irish coast, and soon the north and west shores of Ulster were studded with Spanish wrecks and strewn with Spanish dead. Of the vessels thus cast away, the most considerable was the "Trinidad

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Cal. S.P.I.

[3] *Onie MacRuadri O'More.* An interesting sketch of this famous chieftain of Leix will be found in *Pacata Hibernia*, edited by Standish O'Grady, 1896, and he figures in the opening plate of the first edition. His father, Ruadri Oge O'More, is also sketched under the title of "The Outlawed Chieftain," in the same author's *Bog of Stars*. *Tyrell.* Captain Richard Tyrell was a noted partizan leader kept in pay by O'Neill, and the most famous of his time till overshadowed by the daring exploits of Aodh Ruadh.

[4] Cal. S.P.I.

Valencera" of Venice (1,100 tons, 42 guns, 360 men[1]) on the Iniseon side of Lough Foyle.[2] The shipwrecked fugitives landed in O'Docartaig's country, who sent word to O'Neill's officers, Richard and Henry Hovenden, of the presence of the Spaniards. The Hovendens at once proceeded to Iniseon, and took up their abode in Burt Castle, on the shore of Lough Suible, from which they write to Aodh, Earl of Tireon, "desiring to know what Tireon will do against the Spaniards landed?"[3] 1588

In order to prevent their actions being misrepresented, or any garbled reports of their movements reaching the English authorities, they at the same time sent off a despatch to the Lord Deputy, giving a full account of the matter—"Our very good Lord; two days past Sir John O'Docartaig sent us word that some Spaniards were landed in his country, whereupon we sent a soldier of our own to bring us certain news to the end that we might draw towards them ourselves and inform your lordship of the truth, which soldier was taken by some of O'Docartaig's men, so that he has not yet returned. Since, we have received word of their landing to the number of 600 or 700 at least, and as they give forth they mean to draw towards Galway. And also there is 1,500 sails of Spaniards (the number is mistaken by the writer who probably meant 15 sails), set forth to land (that is, disembarked) in Ireland."

"These 700 Spaniards were driven in by force of weather into a creek named Glanganvey, where their ship is drowned with 200 or 300 men in her, and so would all the rest have been, were it not that the O'Docartaig men went unto them with boats and did bring them to the shore; and withall part of the O'Docartaig men have been familiar among the Spaniards since their landing, and it is said that O'Docartaig himself hath been in speeches with them, which, I think rather to be true, for he hath a fair target, a murrion, and a halbert of theirs which argueth to be received rather as a gift than to be had by other means; it is also affirmed by a man of MacSuibne ne Doe, that he did see three sail on that coast yesterday, toward the said MacSuibne's country, and those Spaniards that are landed are marched about an eighteen miles into the country, and do camp about twelve miles from us. O'Donnell is willing to serve against them, and hath none of his country as yet come in to him passing thirty horsemen; he hath sent for all his forces, but it is doubtful whether they will come in to him or not; we are 150 men, and will, God willing, be doing with the Spaniards, as we may find our best advantage, though we are in doubt whether the country be true to us or not. So having thought good to signify this much to your Lordships, we humbly take our leave."[4]

[1] In the Spanish official list she is given as 189 men.
[2] *La Armada Invencible* quoted in *Ireland under the Tudors*, III., 189.
[3] Cal. S.P.I. [4] Cal. S.P.I.

There is no copy of what O'Neill's instructions were, but while disposed to help the Spaniards he was at the same time apparently desirous of keeping in the good graces of the English Government. Accordingly, we find Richard and Henry Hovenden reporting to the Lord Deputy that "they with 1588, Sept. 14th 150 men attacked the Spaniards at Illagh, the O'Docartaig town, and the second day took them prisoners. Pray for a warrrant for their victualling &c., to Dublin. One of the prisoners has commanded over 30,000 men."[1] They carried them to Dungannon, from whence this despatch was written, and afterwards to Dublin; but it would seem as if the soldiers employed in this duty had not much heart for the job, as Henry Hovenden, in another 1588, Oct. 11th despatch to the Lord Deputy, states that "many of his soldiers have run away. Prays for authority of martial law."[1]

The brothers Hovenden were not unprovided for their warfare with the Spaniards, as there was a warrant from the Lord Deputy on the 29th July, 1588, to Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance, "to deliver to Captain Henry Ovington a cwt. of corn powder, with match and lead accordingly;"[2] and on October 8th they sent in another application for 2 cwt. of powder, with lead and match,[3] which, in view of their being on active service, was no doubt supplied.

O'Neill, while professing to please the English Government and making offers of service against the Spaniards, was, nevertheless, suspected of being 1588, Oct. 8th friendly to them, as Geoffrey Fenton, writing to the Deputy, says, "Tireon hath bitterly reproved O'Donnell, saying he and his posterity may seek a dwelling in another country for their having betrayed the Spaniards and 1588, Oct. 10th their refuge," and Bingham, ever opposed to O'Neill, writing to the Deputy, gives "advice how to attack the main body of 3,000 Spaniards, and to secure Dublin from the attacks of Tireon and Feagh MacAodh O'Beirn, Mistrusts the two Hovendens."[4]

The final result of the Armada matter, as far as Richard and Henry Hovenden were concerned, is found in "A Note of the Earl of Tireon's Grievances," dated 14th March, 1594, wherein the fourth article runs—

"The Earl's foster brothers, Captains Richard and Henry Hovenden, having the leading of 200 footmen at the Earl's charges, overthrew 500 or 600 Spaniards and brought all the best of them to the Earl, whom he sent to the now Lord Deputy (Sir William Fitzwilliam); but neither they (the Hovendens) nor the Earl, had any recompence for that service, or so much as part of the ransom of the prisoners (which was great), they being greatly indebted for the furnishing of their companies at that time."[5]

After their service in capturing the shipwrecked Spaniards the Hovendens 1593, Oct. 11th do not appear to have been performing any special acts worthy of chronicling

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Cal. car. MSS. [3] Cal. S.P.I. [4] Cal. S.P.I. [5] Cal. Car. MSS.

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till the rising of Maguir, Chief of Fermanagh, who raided Connacht, and afterwards unsuccessfully attacked Monaghan, where there was an English garrison. A force was collected at Clones under the command of Bagenal and Tireon, which inflicted a defeat upon Maguir at the fords over the Erne near Belleek.

Bagenal and O'Neill, although brothers-in-law, were at daggers drawn, and under the circumstances it was only natural that Bagenal would be dissatisfied with O'Neill, whatever the actions of the latter might be, and practically omitted his name from the despatches, unless to complain of him. However, Tireon O'Neill was not the man to let a much more astute individual than a blunt soldier like Harry Bagenal have any advantage over him, and he accordingly sent in to the Lord Deputy and Council his own version of the expedition against Maguir, in which he states that the Queen's forces "put them to flight and followed them in chase five miles or more, in which pursuit we slew of them 340, and was hurt myself with a dart through the right leg . . . . . And for that this gentleman Henry Hovenden hath so well acquitted himself in this service, as were it not for his assistance in rescuing me I had been slain, I cannot but make the same known unto you and do leave him unto your honourable consideration, assuring you of my credit and honour that in this much I give him but his due." 1593, Oct. 11th, Belleek

This quarrel, which was only settled with Bagenal's death, continued, and on the 14th March, 1594, O'Neill sent in a list of his grievances against the Marshal. To this on the 17th August, in reply, there was lodged the "Information of Sir H. Bagenal against the Earl of Tireon." The 7th article of which ran—"Fermanagh being subdued, and Maguir brought so low that he was not able to make 10 horsemen and 40 kerne, Maguir invaded not only that country but the Brenni, being accompanied with the force of Tireon under O'Neill's brother Cormac, his natural son Con, his son-in-law, Henry Og Mac Henry Mac Seaghan,[1] together with O'Neill's *foster brothers*, and his own household servants, and slew some of her Majesty's soldiers and conveyed the preys taken there into Tireon. Yet the Earl has ever since entertained these traitors."[2]

These charges of Bagenal's were for the information of the recently arrived Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, but O'Neill boldly came up to Dublin to repel them, without making any of the usual conditions for his safety, made "a most humble submission," as the officials put it, promising everything the Council required, so the charges were shelved, the Lord Deputy and Council saying in their covering enclosure that there was not proof or time when these things were done and the investigation was

[1] Sir Henry O'Neill, of Kenard, grandfather of Sir Phelim O'Neill, who headed the Ulster rising of 1641.

[2] Cal. Car. MSS.

deferred. O'Neill returned to his country triumphant over his enemies, and without the slightest intention of altering his policy.

We have now arrived at the period of the nine years' war which the Northern Chiefs waged against the forces of England. The Queen's Government, after O'Neill's apparent submission, still distrusted their position, became alarmed at the signs of O'Neill's strength, sent a large number of troops over from England, and the long struggle commenced that was only to end when Elizabeth lay dead.

Troops were put in motion against O'Neill, and the Earl of Ormonde, writing to Burghley from Ardee, says: "I understood within three days of my Lord Deputy's departure that some of the traitors' dwellings were near me in the borders of Farney, whereupon I went thither with my own companies, and burned the dwelling-places of Henry Ovenden and Art Braddagh O'Hagan, two of the traitorous Earl's chief men, together with seven or eight villages belonging to other traitors, who before my coming into the country were at the burning of divers towns and villages in the Pale.[1]" So reported the valiant head of the house of Butler, who, at a later period in this struggle, showed no desire to meet these same "traitors" in the open field.

1595, Oct. 4th

The war dragged its slow length along without result, for the country was difficult, and the gallant Sir John Norris had not men enough to effect anything decisive, so that if the conquest of Ulster was to be achieved greater efforts must be put forth and greater sacrifices made than Elizabeth was prepared for, and as an alternative policy negotiations were resorted to once more. O'Neill, who had been proclaimed a traitor at Dundalk and Newry, was now the *O'Neill* in name as he had long been in power, and claimed to represent not only himself but the other Ulster chieftains, being ably assisted in the ensuing discussions by his astute Secretary, Henry Hovenden. It was during these negotiations with Elizabeth's Commissioners, which lasted eleven days, that O'Neill stated that he could "not give them full satisfaction in regard to a point that was raised, because his secretary Henry Hovenden was absent, and he could not trust another to write for him on such matters."[2] This attempt at a settlement proved abortive, merely resulting in a truce for February, March, and April; meantime, Henry Hovenden was by no means idle—as he writes to O'Neill, regarding a Spanish messenger, also touching a fine which he claims as his "gain so long as I am supplying your Lordship's room," from which it may be inferred that he was acting as O'Neill's representative. This Spanish messenger was to "pass as a man of Galway"; and the letter, of which he was the bearer, afterwards played an important part in O'Neill's dealings with the English Government.

1595, June 23rd and 26th

1596, Jan. 15th

1596, March 20

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Cal. Car. MSS.

(To be continued.)

Notes on the Manor of Mercers, County Derry (1609-1660)

By J. W. Kernohan, M.A.

(Continued from p. 187, vol. xii.)

FOR the year 1624 we have also the following particulars[6] of the Mercers' estate:—47 townlands, 29 of which were planted with Irish tenants. The yearly rents amounted to £166 10*s.* 4*d.* Also 18 townlands were planted with English tenants, so that considerable progress was being made. What the work of the colonists was may be very easily guessed. Before the Plantation, the principal exports were hides, fish, timber, beef, pork, foxes, rabbits, etc.; but on the Londoners' lands woodfelling was a chief part of the occupation of the settlers. For instance, from the woods of Killetra there were cut down for the building of Derry, 50,000 oaks at 10*s.* apiece, 100,000 ashes at 5*s.*, and 10,000 elms at 6*s.* 8*d.* each. After clearing the lands and draining the marshes, ploughing would be resorted to, especially by the Scotch. Rents were naturally low, for we gather from the charges made against the Companies rents of one shilling an acre were raised till, about 1637, they reached six to ten times as much.[7]

In the early years of the Plantation, religion was at a low ebb among both people and preachers, although there were many godly ministers of Puritan persuasion through the country. The earliest ministers in the parishes about Kilrea seem to have been English Puritans. In the valuable series of articles by Rev W. A. Reynell, M.A., in the Journal (vols. i. and ii., new series) will be found a complete list of the ministers and incumbents of the parishes of Kilrea and Tamlaght O'Crilly.

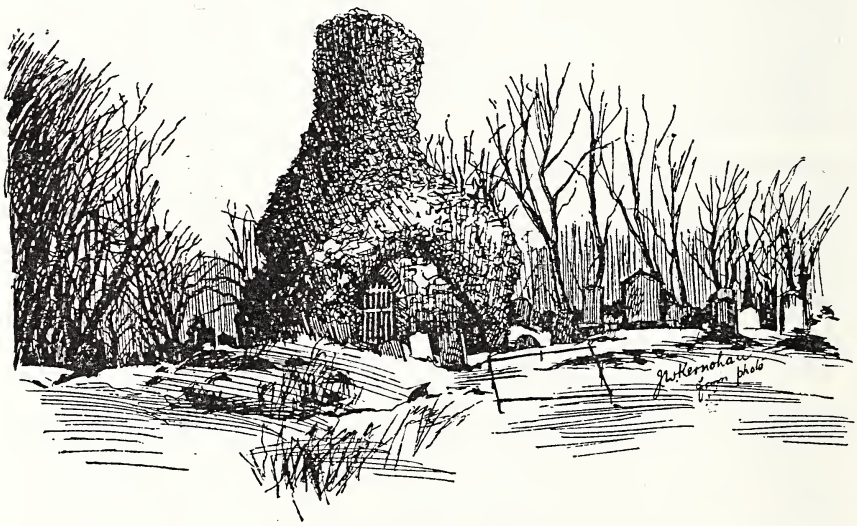
[6] Cal. S.P., 1615-25, p. 471.—In March 1624 there were 103 natives on the Mercers' proportion. Tristram Beresford, the agent of the Irish Society, objected to inquiry by a Commission into the number of natives on the Londoners' estates, declaring that they were "purchasers, not planters."

[7] From the Phillips MS.—Mercers' Proportion rent by the Roll for the year ended at Easter, 1628, £209; rent by the information of Sir Thomas Phillips, £390; buildings by the viewer's report, £1,438; by their own report, £3,500. Number of British, partly by view and partly by information, 79. Number of Irish, by a book of information, 203.

"The church of Tamlaght O'Croyly hath good walls and a roofe of timber, but not covered. The incumbent is Oliver Mather, Cleark Preacher."

"A gort or old glebe, 12 acres, belonging to ye parish, and of new glebe, one towneland, a timber frame of building provided for it. Meanwhile the incumbent (living not far from his church) dischargeth the cure himself." This is the Madder referred to above as occupying one of the frame houses at Mercers' Castle, Movanagher.

"The incumbent or vicar (of Kilrea) is Robert Hogg, an ancient Mr. of Arts, and a preacher." "There is a towneland of glebe, belonging to it on which ye incumbent intends (as he saith) to build a sufficient house very shortly. The incumbent is resident and dischargeth the cure himself." A few acres still called "the Gort," the same two acres as are mentioned in the Inquisition of 1609, are attached to the present rectory of Kilrea.



KILREA OLD CHURCH.

A few miles from the Kilrea church, in the parish of Tamlaght, there is a place called "the Glebe," where lie the glebe lands apportioned by the Irish Society to these parishes, three-fourths of Killymuck to Kilrea, and Killygullib to Tamlaght parish. There seems some truth in the remarks made in Bishop Nicholson's Primary Visitation Book (1718) to the effect that it was through the "contrivance of some villainous agents" of the Irish Society that the glebes of most of the

adjacent parishes lie in Tamlaght O'Crilly. The Society was bound by the Articles of Plantation to set out a certain proportion of glebe out of every 1,000 acres; and this being "more coarse and unprofitable than ye adjacent parishes, they placed as many glebes as they could in it." The bishop had himself some land here also.

From the same authority we learn that the tithes of Kilrea parish, which, as has been seen, were formerly "impropriate," were purchased and bestowed on the Church by Dr. Bramhall, when Bishop of Derry. This was quite in accordance with the character of Bramhall in his dealings with the Irish Society, from whom he endeavoured to secure to the Church as much as possible of what he, no doubt, believed to have been unjustly appropriated by the Londoners. And he had special opportunities, for, when Charles revoked their Charter in 1636, Bramhall procured an order appointing him receiver of rents, and about the same time he retained the "quarter lands" in Derry, which was the cause of much litigation with the Society afterwards. From 1624 to 1675 Kilrea and Tamlaght were served by the same ministers, one of whom, Richard Collins, died during the siege of Coleraine in 1641.

In a sermon preached in 1622 the idea is clearly conveyed that the ministers of the North of Ireland were in numerous instances of a useless kind, and from other sources we learn that the people flocking into Ulster were "all void of godliness," and that the "preachers were generally of the same complexion with the people." But a few earnest spirits soon saw that the Reformation could make little headway in such circumstances. Since no direct evidence is available as to the character of the earliest clergy of the Companies' proportions, we can but trust to the general history of the time.

In connection with the coming of the Scotch, the following words of Peter Heylin, the chaplain of Charles I., are interesting. "Hereupon followed the Plantation of Ulster, first undertaken by the City of London, who fortified Coleraine and built Londonderry, and purchased many thousand acres of land in the parts adjoining. But it was carried on more vigorously, as more unfortunately withal, by some adventurers of the Scottish nation, who poured themselves into this country as the richer soil; and though they were sufficiently industrious in improving their own fortunes there, and set up preaching in all churches wheresoever they fixed; yet whether it happened for better or worse, the event hath showed. For they brought hither such a stock of Puritanism, such a contempt of bishops, such a neglect of the

public liturgy and other divine offices of this Church, that there was nothing less to be found amongst them than the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England." The bias of the High Churchman is plainly evident from this passage; but the broader character of the Church of this time made the Scotch ministers an important factor in the revival of religion, which soon began in the vicinity of Antrim.

From a deposition[8] taken in 1613, we gather an interesting picture of a Franciscan friar in the woods of Loughinsholin exhorting the native Irish to adhere to the religion of Rome. There was an audience of about one thousand people, whom he urged to reform their wicked lives and not to be tempted by fear or desire of gain to enter the "English" churches, telling them that "those were devil's words which the English ministers spake, and all should be damned who heard them." He assured them he was sent by the Pope, who had a care for their bodies and souls, and would help them. At the end of the sermon, this prophet in the wilderness was presented with a great gift of oxen, sheep, and money, in order, it was thought, to be sent away later to the friars of Louvain.

With the coming of Charles to the throne, greater trouble was in store for the Companies. On 27th May, 1625, a number of Articles were submitted by the King's direction to the Common Council. They had reference to letting the lands to freeholders and also to leaseholders for lives, but specially debarred the transference of estates to other men. The Mercers were to make six freeholders of one balliboe each (about 60 acres) and ten leaseholders for lives, the former to pay ninepence English the acre and the latter twelvepence. The fact that the Companies were quite willing to comply with the instructions as soon as it was practicable—they had set their lands for long terms—has been urged in favour of the view that the Companies were trustees just like the parent Irish Society. The reply of the Companies was to the effect that they had all made six freeholders, but were willing to undertake an extraordinary charge, and prayed to be allowed to retain the natives. The truth is, they could not or would not bring over sufficient English. The survey of 1622 shows the Mercers to have three freeholders only, and no lessees.

We know but little of the early freeholders on the Mercers' estate, but it is probable that the Moyletratoy freehold (the Grove) was in

[8] Cal. S.P. 1611-14.

the hands of the Church family from 1625. In 1636 Slaghtneil was let to Shane O'Gillin, and Knockoneil to Gronie O'Quigg. Drumsara was at a very early date in the possession of the Beresfords, and Boveedy belonged to the family of Cary.

Sir Thomas Philips proved a veritable thorn in the flesh to the Londoners in the early years of Charles's reign, but his vigilance is specially séen in the letter which he wrote as one of the Commissioners, and in which he charged the Companies with violating the conditions of Plantation, thinking only of their own advantage. From it we learn that the Companies were in receipt of £2,190 per annum from their tenants, and that in twenty years their expenditure had been repaid with £89,000 profits besides. There was, no doubt, some ground for the allegations of Philips, and his representations had certainly a serious effect on the fortunes of the Companies' Irish estates during the reign of Charles. Bishop Bramhall was also concerned in the accusations against the Companies. The result was, three informations were laid in the Court of Star Chamber, and judgment was given in 1637, that the letters-patent of 29th March, 1613, be cancelled and annuled, and the premises granted to the Irish Society seized into the hands of the King.

The charges against the City need not be detailed here further than to say that they came under the general heads of obtaining more land than it was the King's intention to grant; of retaining the Irish upon their lands in preference to the English and Scots, because the Irish paid higher rents; of cutting down the woods for merchandise instead of for purely Plantation purposes. There were other minor charges also.

On the other hand, it is but right to state that all these proceedings of the Star Chamber have been pronounced illegal, and, further, that some of the conditions of Plantation were impossible of fulfilment. Unfortunately for their own case, the City and the Companies seem to have compromised themselves by petitioning the King twice for pardon, to the extent even of offering a large fine. Finally, the King, in 1638, after receiving a fine, issued a pardon and released the City and the Companies from all trusts respecting the Plantation, the lands having already been surrendered.

A good time, however, was coming for the Companies. In the difficulties which arose in consequence of the rupture between Charles and the Parliament the Londoners saw their opportunity for recovering their lands in Ulster. The City took the side of the Parliament, the

Halls of the Companies being thrown open to the leaders of the popular party, who now began to annul the proceedings of the Star Chamber. In response to a petition[9] from the Irish Society and the Companies in October, 1641, the House ordered the lands to be restored to the Companies. And again in 1658, when Cromwell, who was largely indebted to the Londoners for money advanced to meet the expenses of his campaigns, granted a patent for the same lands, the twelve Companies received again conveyances of their proportions in Londonderry.[10]

Beyond this there is little detailed information to be found respecting the Mercers' estate between 1630 and 1650 except the events of the few months after the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1641, and especially the "Portna massacre," in January, 1641 (O.S.). There is no authoritative evidence of how the English on the Mercers' estate escaped, but it is probable that the agent, Church, fled to Coleraine. The O.S. Memoirs have an account, probably traditional, of the escape of Church by swimming the Bann, his castle at Movanagher having been burned. If so, it must have been before the Portna affair, for, though Canning, the Ironmongers' agent, was then taken safely across the Bann by Stewart's soldiers, there is no mention of Church and his men. The west side of the Bann was in the hands of the rebels, and thoroughly overrun by them, and it was to keep these in check that Archibald Stewart's regiment held the passes of the Bann.

In order to understand the murders at Portna, near Kilrea, a word of explanation is necessary.[11] Lord Antrim's agent, Archibald Stewart, raised a regiment, which was composed of 600 Scots Protestants, 100 Highland Roman Catholics under Alaster M'Coll M'Donnell, and 100 Irish Roman Catholics under one of the Dunseverick O'Cahans. The progress of the Rebellion brought a natural division between the parties. At the end of December, 1641, they were stationed along the Bann side in the neighbourhood of Kilrea, and in companies about half a mile apart.

The run of events seems to have been the following:—While Stewart's men were absent in the Braid quelling an insurrection, the Antrim Irish from Rasharkin crossed the river to join the Derry rebels

[9] "To stir up the City to lend more money the Commons fell upon the debate of the case of Londonderry," and then follows a series of resolutions designed to placate the City and Companies. See Nealson's Impartial Collection, vol. ii., page 461.

[10] In the re-conveyance made to the Mercers during the Protectorate, it is expressly stipulated that as little encouragement as possible be given to Scotch settlers, in accordance with Cromwell's policy at that time.

[11] T.C.D. Depositions.

in their plunder and devastation. On the return of Stewart to the Bann, a number of his men were sent down the river to secure the safe passage of Canning and his goods from Agivey. Meanwhile, the Highlanders and Irish, who declined to go, were getting more disaffected towards their comrades, in consequence, no doubt, as Dr. John M'Donnell wittily remarks, of their mutual hatred,—the one assuring the other that they were on a quick march by a *facilis descensus* along "the primrose path to the everlasting bonfire," the Irish being assured that their Scots friends were proceeding the same way, "minus the primroses."

In the darkness of the dawn of the 2nd January the Protestant companies at Portna were aroused by a noise in the neighbouring camp. Somewhat alarmed, they proceeded to ascertain the cause, and saw M'Donnell's men approaching, wearing British colours and carrying a white flag. Unsuspecting and unprepared, they were attacked on all sides—stabbed, shot, and murdered. From one of the depositions it would seem that the assailants were crossing the river, so that probably the rebels accompanied them. They went to bed as fellow-soldiers; in the morning they were overwhelmed by the treachery of the same, and that, too, whilst weakened by the absence of their comrades. It has been asserted amid a flow of rhetoric that this was merely an engagement, in which the British were routed. The evidence of the depositions is quite against such a supposition. The list of murdered is estimated at about 60. Accompanied by a riotous mob, the Irish proceeded towards Ballymoney, burning, plundering, and killing.

When Movanagher bawn was burnt we do not exactly know. It is safe, however, to say that it was after these wars that Thomas Church and the English settlers removed to the high tableland on which Kilrea now stands, and which was much more suitable for defence purposes than Movanagher, with its surrounding hills. The O.S. Memoirs are not reliable on the point of Thomas Church being agent from 1641 to 1688, and also in several other details.[12] It was, no doubt, after the defeat of the British at Garvagh in December, when Edward Rowley, Esq., and 200 men were slaughtered, that Church and his men retired to Coleraine. The Cannings, as we have seen, were compelled to seek the assistance of Stewart's forces, after defending their bawn at Agivey as long as possible. Church was probably in the

[12] There is not sufficient evidence to prove that Church asked for the townland of Kilrea in addition to three which he already had, but everything points to the probability that Kilrea was in possession of the Church family in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

disastrous engagement with the Irish at the Laney, near Ballymoney, in the following February, where he seems to have had command of some horse.

During the year 1642 he evidently attained considerable prominence in Coleraine affairs, for we find him being sent to London with some other commanders to seek help for the little town in its dire extremities. By order of 7th September, 1642, the Parliament ordered £450 to be paid to several captains of Coleraine[13] ("Commanders of the 700 men and the troop of horse"), including Thomas Church, who received £60 for his 50 horse, £55 for his 100 foot, and £55 for the 100 men under his son. And when the Rebellion should end, these commanders were "to have satisfaction out of the rebels' lands, answerable to their expence." With this, however, Church disappears from the scene, his treatment of his colleagues when in London influencing some of his townsmen so far as to "disclaim his further intermeddling in their affairs." He was alive in 1657. He had married a widow, whose maiden name was Howard, and who was connected with a number of families in Coleraine and Kilrea, named Godfrey, Cooke, Rowley, Adams, and Cuppage. To her son, Godfrey Baker, a minor, she left 40 acres of land, a dwelling-house, mill, and tanhouse at Kilrea, which were in possession of the Church family in the following century.

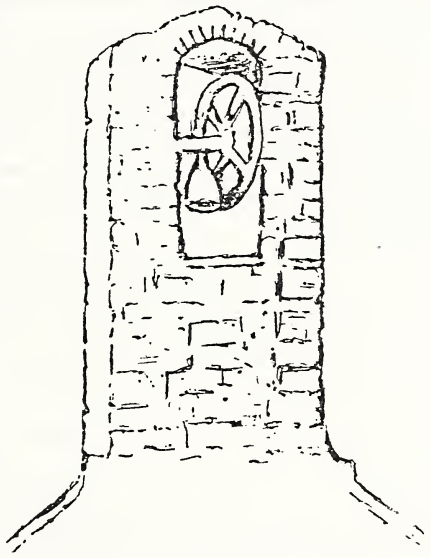
The earliest reference we have to Church in the county is in an inquisition of 1622, where he is styled Thomas Church, gent., though, according to the family pedigree, he would seem to have been in Landmore, near Kilrea, in 1601. There is no mention of him in the plot of the Mercers' buildings at Movanagher of date 1622, when Valentine Hartop occupied the chief house as agent or chief tenant. But in a muster roll of about 1630, Thomas Church, with the style of "Knight,' has 87 men, including Valentine Hartop, armed with "sword and pike," like his leader; his son, George Church, was "ensigne," while another son, Thomas, carried "sword and caliver."

Passing on to the peace that followed the Restoration, we find Thomas Church living in Kilrea townland, as owner probably. George was in the Moyletra freehold, which had been purchased from the original freeholder, Charles Williams. Charles Church was then living in Movanagher. Thomas's two grandsons were in Derry during the

[13] The Vesey MS. account of the Siege of Coleraine says of the rout at the battle of the Laney, "The carnage was much encreased by our troop of horse, who making no halt or stand to receive the fugitives, fled over hastily quite out of the fields." Though in the face of the enemy the English and Scotch in Coleraine united, Vesey makes it clear that there were jealousies, unless we make due allowance for Vesey's prejudice.

siege, one of them (a major of horse) dying of wounds. The Thomas, junior, mentioned in the muster-roll is probably the same who died at Kilrea in 1703, possessed of a lease of the townland of Gortmacrane and of the mill and tanyard in Kilrea. His daughter was wife of the rector, the Rev. Lawrence Clutterbuck, who possessed much land about Kilrea and in Tipperary, being descended from one of Cromwell's adventurers. The family burying-ground of the Church family up till the nineteenth century was in Kilrea, but there is no headstone nor inscriptions within the iron railing. A half-covered stone with the solitary name, "Thomas Church," lies near at hand. The present representative of the main line, Mark B. Church, of Myroe, is grandson of John Church, who was Deputy-Governor of the county during the Rebellion period. There are also several junior branches of the family in County Derry.

It was in 1658 that the estate was restored to the Mercers, and the charter under which they have held it till now is dated 1662, the conveyance being executed in 1663. The bell which did service in the old church from 1660 now hangs, with well-worn tongue, in the present fine church, and it is a very significant fact that it bears the inscription, "God Save the King, 1660," considering that the Companies were so indebted to Cromwell two years earlier, and that one of his "adventurers," Richard Clutterbuck, a Mercer, was closely connected with Kilrea. He presented a silver chalice to the parish in 1664.[14] From this time forward the Mercers Company let their estate on long leases, only resuming the management of it in 1831.



THE BELL ON THE OLD CHURCH TOWER.
(Copied from O.S. Memoirs by Miss Clark, Kilrea.)

[I am indebted to Maxwell Given, C.E., Coleraine, for loan of a copy of the Vesey MS. and notes from the Nicholson Visitation.]

[14] See account, by the writer, of the Clutterbuck Chalice in the Journal of the Society for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead, vol. vi., page 389.

Ulster Bibliography.

COLERAINE.

By E. R. McC. Dix.

SINCE my articles on this subject, dealing with printing in some Ulster towns in the 18th Century, appeared in this Journal, I have received information of some printing having been done in Coleraine in that century of which I was not previously aware. This is now the eleventh locality in Ulster of which there is a record of the existence of a press in the 18th century. I am indebted to the Rev. W. T. Latimer for the first, and to James Buckley for the second of these particulars.

1794. "Poems." John Searson, Late Master of the Free School in Coleraine, and formerly of New York, Merchant. "By Subscription."

[*Vide* McComb's Presbyterian Almanac for 1854, Belfast.]

1797. Form of "Oath of Allegiance and Recognizance" to the Government. *(C. Gardner).* S.sh. 16 x 12. Printed on one side only.

[British Museum (Pelham Papers, Add. MSS. 33104)].

The subjoined is a copy of this interesting document. There were certain blank spaces left in it for the names of the Magistrates, etc., to be afterwards filled in. The matter so inserted is indicated here by *heavy type.* A few of the printed words were scored out, which are signified here within square brackets.

[Coleraine: Printed by C. Gardner].

Whereas his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the Advice of his moſt Honourable Privy Council of this Kingdom, by Proclamation, which passed under the Great Seal, on the Seventeenth Day of *May* last, did Promise His Majesty's Pardon to all such Persons as had entered into Traitorous Societies of *United Irishmen*, and committed other crimes therein mentioned, as should on or before the Twenty-fourth Day of *June* next, after the issuing of the said Proclamation, surrender themselves to any of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, being of the Quorum of the Counties in which they respectively reside, and take the oath of allegiance and enter into sufficient Recognizances, with two sufficient Sureties (if required), to be of the Peace and good Behaviour for the Space of Seven Years; save and except all such as have been guilty of Murder, conspiracy of Murder, Burglary, Burning of Houses, Corn or Hay, Stocks of Straw or Turf, maliciously Digging up, or injuring, or Destroying any Potatoes, Flax or Hemp, Rape or Corn of any kind, planted or sowed, or destroying Meadows or Hay, maiming or houghing of Cattle, Administering or causing to be Administered any unlawful Oath or Engagement of any kind of his Majesty's Forces of any description, or inciting or encouraging any person to commit any of the aforesaid offences respectively, and save and except all Persons now in Custody.

Now I **John Gage Leeky** one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, being of the Quorum, of the County of **Antrim** do hereby certify that **David Criek** this Day surrendered himself to me as falling within the Provision of the said Proclamation, and taken

and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance, and entered into sufficient Recognizance in the sum of *Sixty Pounds* to be of the Peace and good Behaviour for the Space of Seven Years, and the succession to the Throne in his Majesty's Illustrious House.

Given under my Hand and Seal, this *22nd* Day of *June*, 1797.

John Gage Lecky **O** seal.

I **David Crick** Do Sincerely Promise and Swear, I will be Faithful and bear True Allegiance to his Majesty King GEORGE the Third, and that I will faithfully support and maintain The Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom.

Sworn before me, this 22nd Day of June 1797, **John Gage Lecky.**

The following letter, taken from the same collection, explains how the above piece of early Coleraine printing came to be preserved; and is also worth publishing here for the light it throws on these eventful times. It was endorsed—"Lieut. General Lake, Belfast."

BALLYMONEY, 25th June, 1797.

SIR,

On Thursday, Friday & Saturday, nine hundred and forty-eight persons took the Oath of Allegiance and also swore they were not United Irishmen nor would the become so that they would deliver up their Arms in two days, at Ballymoney, and thirty four persons surrendered themselves as United Irishmen, who took the Oath of Allegiance and swore they would not in future Associate with United Irishmen, & intered into Recognizance and gave up their Arms in two days; in consequence of this they have sent in here about 60 firelocks and some old swords, and I fancy a great many more will be brought in to-morrow and the next day, the Magistrats that attended here was John Cromie and George Moore Esqrs. and the Revd. Thos. Babington. A great number of the most Disaffected persons about this place wint to John Gage Lecky Esqr. a justice of the peace for Derry and took the Oath of Allegiance from him, which oath as he has given it, I think does not answer the purpose intended by taking the oath, by his Bloting out the part of the oath, the succession to the Throne in his Majesty's Illustrious House. I send with this some of the Certificates that he has given them, that you may see how it is. I had the People that this Certificates was taken from sworn over again.

Mr. Lecky has sent me to-day some Pikes that he had taken up and he expected to send more to-morrow.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obdt and
very humble Sirvant
Charles Sinclair Capt
& Major 22d Lt. Drags

It would appear that John Gage Lecky stood higher in the estimation of the people than his brother magistrates, since the "most disaffected" of them resorted to him. Like a wise man he was satisfied that the oath of the subject should extend only to "support and maintain the laws and constitutions of this Kingdom,"—sufficient for the day—and left it to after times to determine who should succeed to the Throne. James Buckley very kindly copied the Oath and Letter for me.

It is always interesting to carry back the date of printing in our towns to an earlier date than was previously known. I hope some of our readers may be able to trace other and still earlier items.

Royal Downshire Militia.

Extracts from Order Books, &c.

By Colonel Robert Hugh Wallace, C.B.,
Commander Royal Irish Rifles (South Down Militia).

N order was issued on 24 January, 1797, for the formation of four Battalions of Light Infantry, to be made up by each of 35 Regiments furnishing a Light Infantry Company, consisting of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Sergeants, 2 Drummers or Bugles *(sic)*, and 70 Rank and File (including 5 Corporals).

The Royal Downshire L. I. Co. assembled at Kilkenny, and the 1st Battalion, of which it formed a part, was composed of 6th Regiment of Foot—Tyrone, South Mayo, Louth, Longford, Downshire, North Cork, Cork City, King's County, South Cork, and *Wicklow.

The Battalion was under command of Lieut. Colonel Campbell, 6th Foot.

"The men are to be selected from the most active, from 5 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 9 inches high, and under 30 years of age; and the Officers such as will be equal to a service in which, in the event of an invasion, much exertion may be required."

Light Infantry Battalions.

The 2nd Battalion, stationed at Bandon, was made up of the 30th Foot—Galway, *Leitrim, Westmeath, Sligo, *Dublin County, Waterford, Roscommon, Wexford, Londonderry, Meath, Fermanagh, Limerick County—Commanded by Lieut. Col. Wilkinson, 30th Foot.

The 3rd Battalion at Blaris Hutts (Co. Down) comprised 64th Foot—Tipperary, Kerry, Monaghan, *Cavan, Dublin City, *Carlow, *Drogheda, and Armagh—under Liet. Col. Innis, 64th Foot.

The 4th Battalion at Loughlinstown Hutts, 89th Foot—North Mayo, Kilkenny, Antrim, *Clare, Donegall, *Kildare, Limerick City, and Queen's County, of whom Lieut. Col. Stewart, 89th Foot, was in command.

N.B.—Regiments marked thus * are not supposed to have Light Companies, or to be at too low an establishment to detach them.

24 June, 1797.

Belfast News-Letter, 3 July, 1797:

At a meeting of the Noncommissioned Officers, Drummers and Privates of his Majesty's 9th (or Royal Downshire) Regiment of Militia, the following declarations were unanimously agreed to—

Galway, *June* 24, 1797.

1st—That, until within these few Days, we did not know the Royal Downshire Regiment had been mentioned in the Secret Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, in which Report a paper is published (taken from the United Irishmen) that directly charges us with Disloyalty to our King, and disaffection to the constitution, by uniting ourselves with them, whose principles we detest and abhor, as we conceive it is evidently their intention to join the French, and by doing so to bring about the destruction of our Country and King whom we have sworn to defend, and in whose defence we are ready to lose the last drop of our blood.

2nd—That we positively deny the charges made against us in that paper; and that if ever the hour of trial come, we will convince the world by our actions[1] that those People had no foundations for making use of our name, but employed it only as a decoy to others.

3rd—That the above declarations be three times printed in the *Belfast News-Letter*, *Dublin Evening Post*, and *Connaught Journal*.

In the name of, and for the Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers and Privates of the Royal Downshire Regiment of Militia.

God Save the King.

JOHN JOHNSTON, Acting Sergeant Major.
JOHN HOWE, Quarter Master Sergeant.
ALEXANDER CRANSTON, Sergeant and Clerk.
ANDREW CLOSE, Drum Major.

Here follow forty-five names of Privates.

Four guineas on re-enlistment, including the guinea allowed by Act of Parliament for continuall *(sic)* of their service for men entitled to discharge before 29 September, 1797, and 3 guineas to those entitled to discharge before 24 June, 1798. 14 Feb., 1797. Bounties.

Term of service was four years.

Sergeants, Corporals, and Drummers receiving pay as such were not entitled to discharge and did not get the benefit of this bounty.

The Regiment was in Major Gen. Johnston's Brigade, together with the Wicklow and North Cork Militias, and North Lowland Fencibles. Headquarters: Loughrea.

On 10 March, 1797, "as all Regiments might at any moment have to take the field," all Officers were directed to be in possession of tents or marquees. "Any not having same could obtain them for £18 10*s*. each, which is near £10 less than their original cost." Tents.

[1] One year to the day afterwards the Regiment engaged and defeated the Rebels at Castlecomer.

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Pay.

An increase of pay was notified 16 June, 1797, making the new scale per day as follows: Sergeant, 1*s.* 6¾*d.*; Corporal, 1*s.* 2¼*d.*; Drummer or Fifer, 1*s.* 1¼*d.*; Private, 1*s.* 0*d.*

The net pay for the private soldier was not a large wage, as will be gathered from the following:

"With respect to the distribution of 1/- per day for each Private Soldier of Infantry, His Majesty has been pleased to order that a sum not exceeding 4 shillings per week shall be applied towards the expence of the Soldiers' Mess (including vegetables, etc.), unless he himself shall choose to appropriate a further part of his pay for that purpose. That a sum not exceeding one shilling and sixpence per week shall be retained for necessaries to be accounted for as usual—monthly—and that the remainder of his pay, amounting to 1 shilling and 6 pence per week, shall be paid to the soldier subject to the accustomed deduction for washing and articles for cleaning his clothes and appointments."

In communicating this increased rate of pay to the troops, H.R.H. the Duke of York refers to it as another "instance of the Liberality of Parliament and of His Majesty's Paternal Care."

On May 18, 1797, the Lord Lieutenant directed the troops not to wait for orders from the Civil Magistrate in dispensing unlawful and tumultuous assemblies of "Persons threatening the Peace of the Realm."

Memorial of Town of Galway.

A memorial from the Mayor, Sheriffs, and principal inhabitants of the town of Galway was received by the Lord Lieutenant, praying for the continuance of the Regiment in Galway, and was refused.

Col. Lord Annesley, in the name of the whole Regiment, returns their sincere thanks to the Mayor, assuring him that same "has made a lasting impression, and shall ever be remembered with the purest gratitude."—21 October, 1797.

Loughrea.

The Regiment proceeded to Loughrea.

Establishment, 1 Jan., 1798.

The establishment, by order dated 26 December, 1797, was:

Ten Companies—1 Col. and Capt., 1 Lt. Col. and Capt., 1 Lt. Col. with a Company, 1 Major and Capt., 1 Major without a Company, 7 Captains and Companies, 2 Captains en Second, 1 Captain Lieut., 11 Lieutenants, 2 Lieutenants en Second, 8 Ensigns, 2 Ensigns en Second, 1 Chaplain, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quarter Master, 1 Surgeon, 1 Assistant, 52 Sergeants, 50 Corporals, 20 Drummers, 2 Fifers, 550 Private Men. Total, 717.

In addition to the 2 Lieutenants en Second, there will be several supernumeraries on account of the former reduction of the establishment of the 25 Lieutenants to 13.

The Bands in those days were evidently as hard to keep up as at present, as "the establishment of Drummers and Fifers are to be on no account exceeded, and such Regiments as have Bands of Musick will be allowed to take one private per company for that purpose, but it is expected that these Men are fit to carry Arms and shall have been taught the use of them. One Non-Commissioned Officer may be allowed to have charge of the Band."—13 February, 1798. Band.

The Royal Downshire did not apparently approve of the colour of the Regulation Cockade, and probably there may have been something of a Party nature in this, for we find— Cockades.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Loughrea, 14 *March*, 1798.

Major Gen. Hutchinson is sorry to repeat the Orders which he gave last summer, but in consequence of the information he has received the Downshire Regiment is again informed that the King's Cockade is *Black*, which all Officers and Soldiers are ordered to wear; and therefore are not to presume to appear in any other. Meetings and Associations of every kind among the Soldiers are strictly forbidden: they can tend to no purpose but to the disturbance of the publick peace, and the subversion of *Military Discipline*. Commissioned Officers are strictly enjoined not to countenance or suffer any such Meetings. If they should fail in this, their bounden duty, they will incur the most severe responsibility and be immediately reported to the Commander-in-Chief. Meetings and Associations Forbidden

The General is happy, at the same time, to give his unqualified approbation of the most orderly and excellent behaviour of the Downshire Regiment during the period they have been under his command, and from their past conduct he cannot entertain a doubt that as they have the good fortune to be quartered in the most loyal and peaceable part of their native country, they will not do anything that can disgrace their former reputation or tend to the disturbance of the King's Peace or to a breach of the Laws.

Although the pay of the men was wretchedly small, a letter dated 14 March, 1798, appears from Dublin Castle, directing the Officer Commanding to communicate "to the Downshire Militia the high sense His Excellency entertains of this distinguished proof of Zeal and Loyalty." This refers to the voluntary subscription of the Regiment of a sum of £728 5*s*. 8*d*. "towards the exigencies of the State." Voluntary Subscription towards Exigencies of the State.

The Commander-in-Chief directed (31 March, 1798) the troops "to act without waiting for direction of Civil Magistrates in dispersing Prompt Action Ordered.

any tumultuous unlawful assemblies of Persons threatening the Peace of the Realm and the safety of the lives and properties of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects wheresoever collected."

In consequence of the absence of several of the gentlemen of the interior part of the county during the ensuing Assizes at Galway, and in order to preserve tranquility during their absence, a party of 1 officer and 30 privates was ordered to reinforce the detachment at Woodford; and the O.C. there was directed to send out parties to search for arms and take same from suspicious persons, and give same to gentlemen who are disposed to assist the military and protect their property, and the duty is to be carried out "without any degree of insult or oppression."

This order, which is dated 4 April, 1798, from Portumna, casts a shadow of doubt on Major General Hutchinson's statement that the quarters of the Royal Downshire were in "the most Loyal and peaceable part of their native country."

David Bailie Warden,

Patriot 1798.

By Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., vice-pres. R.S.A.I.

(Author of "A History of the Irish Presbyterians.")

THE Warden family have for many years been settled in the north-east of County Down. Hugh Warden (1681-1750) was a farmer, living at Ballycastle, near Greyabbey, in the Ardes, on the estate of Robert Stewart, father of Lord Castlereagh. He was succeeded by his son, Robert (1729-1799), who married Elizabeth Bailie, and by her had three sons. The youngest of these was born in 1778, and we may infer that the eldest, David Bailie, was three or four years older. The Bailies were an old family long settled at Inishargie.

David Bailie Warden, of Bangor, Patriot 1798.

It was intended by his parents that David should be a Presbyterian clergyman, but his schoolmaster, when consulted on the subject, stated that he would never make anything except a "blockhead." The name of this teacher must, however, be inscribed on the list of "false prophets." Very soon David grew fond of his books, and henceforth made rapid progress. Entering the University of Glasgow, he pursued his studies in Arts, Medicine, and Theology with diligence and success. In 1796-7 he obtained a University Silver Medal "for the best Historical and Philosophical Account of the Application of the Barometer to the Mensuration of Heights," and a prize for General Eminence in the Natural Philosophy Class. On the 5th of April, 1797, he obtained his degree of Master of Arts.

After his course was completed, the Presbytery of Bangor, in May, 1797, licensed him as a "probationer" for the ministry of the Irish Presbyterian Church, which gave him a right to preach, but not to dispense the Sacraments; and rendered him eligible to receive a "call" from a vacant congregation, on accepting which he might be ordained.

For some time Warden was engaged in supplying congregations, and was exceedingly popular as a preacher. The people of Donaghadee were desirous of securing him as their pastor in succession to Rev. James Knox, who was compelled to retire on account of mental infirmity; but circumstances took place which rendered this impossible.

Warden was an ardent patriot, and felt strongly for the Irish people in their disabilities and sufferings. He became a United Irishman, and held a colonel's commission in that body. This fact being well known to the Government, who feared his influence as both a speaker and writer, he was "a marked man," and consequently he was arrested.

Having for some time remained in concealment, it was determined to arrest him when he surrendered himself, and was lodged in Downpatrick Jail. From thence he was removed to Belfast, and from Belfast to a prison-ship stationed in the Pool of Garmoyle, near that city. Among his fellow-prisoners was Dr. William Steel Dickson, who, in his *Narrative*, gives a vivid account of the fearful sufferings that he endured in this place of confinement. The lower deck, where he and many others slept, was only "four feet eight inches high." So great was the number crowded into this apartment that when they retired to rest many were obliged to lie in rows opposite to one another, so that the feet of one row reached to the knees of the other. The breath of so many prisoners caused a hot fetid steam to issue through the hatchway to the deck above.

The almost intolerable sufferings which Dr. Dickson endured in this prison-ship, he states, would have been even worse, "Had it not been for the lively, rational, and entertaining conversation of Mr. David B. Warden, . . . a poor probationer, . . . whose father was tenant to the Earl of Londonderry."

For nearly six weeks Warden endured the sufferings caused by this rigid confinement. Then he was removed to his former prison. At length he agreed that, if released, he would emigrate to America, and remain an exile from his country for ever. His reasons for this decision are given in the pamphlet that we have reproduced.

This pamphlet was written in order to criticise the action of the Presbytery of Bangor in refusing to give him what is now called "credentials," namely, a certificate of his official position as a "probationer," or "Licentiate," so that he might be received as such by the Church in America. It does not seem, however, that the pamphlet made any change in the

resolution of the Presbytery, as next year they reported to the Synod, "That Messrs. Jas. Hull, John Miles,[1] and David Warden, lately Licentiates of their Presbytery, having been charged with being concerned in the Insurrection of June, 1798, and not having stood their Tryals, but as they understood having sailed for America, are not to be considered as Probationers under their care."

In May, 1798, the Presbytery of Bangor consisted of the following ministers:—James Cochrane, Ballywalter; James Caldwell, Dundonald; Dr. W. S. Dickson, Portaferry; Robert Porter, Clough; Andrew Craig, Lisburn; James Sinclair, Glastry; James Porter, Greyabbey; Jas. Knox, Donaghadee; David Taggart, Bangor; J. W. Wightman, Moira. In the Autumn of 1798, when Warden asked for his credentials, James Porter lay in a patriot's grave, Dr. Dickson was in prison, and James Knox was labouring under mental infirmity. The responsibility of refusing the certificate lies on the others.

On his arrival in America, Warden was offered a Chair of Natural Philosophy in an Eastern College, but a previous engagement caused him to decline the appointment. For some time he was engaged in teaching, and his medical education, begun in Glasgow, was completed in New York, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In 1806, when rector of the Kingston Academy, he accepted an unsolicited offer of the Secretaryship of the American Legation in Paris, made to him with the consent of President Jefferson, by General Armstrong, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States. Afterwards Warden became Consul-General of the United States in Paris. When political interests caused him to lose this appointment he embarked in the sloop-of-war, *Hornet*, returned to America, and was re-installed by a vote of the Senate. Going back to France with the new Minister, Joel Barlow, he resumed his Consular functions in the French capital.

After Barlow's death, in 1812, Warden exercised the power of a Minister until Napoleon's return from Russia enabled Crawford to present his credentials. In this period, Warden obtained the Archives of the Russian Embassy, for which service he declined pecuniary remuneration, but accepted a diamond ring from the Emperor Alexander.

Some years afterwards Crawford, by the order of the President, deprived Warden of the Consulate, and bestowed it on one of his own friends. Had he then repaired to Washington, as he had done previously, the Senate would probably have reinstated him in his position. But, relying on the justice of his claims, he appealed to the President, expecting that he would take an early opportunity of undoing the injury that had been inflicted. In this hope he was disappointed; yet even in his retirement he sometimes exercised almost as much influence as if he had retained his official position.

[1] The life histories of James Hull and John Miles would be valued.—*Ed.*

The English influence at this time in the United States was exercised most unfavourably to the Irish patriots, as, for instance, in the case of Thomas Addis Emmet, who fought it down, and attained the highest distinction in his adopted country.

At the Congress of Vienna Warden met Lord Castlereagh, the son of his father's landlord, and had the pleasure of being able to exercise considerable influence in opposition to his aims and desires. The satisfaction he experienced in so doing must have been profound.

After being relieved of office, Warden continued to live in Paris, where he devoted himself to literature. Many years previously, in 1803, through his friend, Dr. Stephenson, he had become a corresponding member of the Belfast Literary Society, to which he contributed papers.[2]

In 1813 he published a work on the "Origin, Nature, and Influence of Consular Establishments," which was translated into different languages. In 1819 he published in Edinburgh a Statistical, Historical, and Political description of the United States of America in three volumes, a French Edition of which was issued next year in Paris.

In order to prepare himself thoroughly for writing this work Warden had studied Anatomy under Dumeril, Comparative Anatomy under Cuvier, Zoology under St. Hilaire, and other subjects under other distinguished professors.

This work procured his election as a member of the Institute of France [French Academy], thus becoming one of the Forty Immortals, probably the only Irishman who ever received that honour. The Academy of Science elected him a corresponding member by a majority of thirty-five to fifteen in room of Captain Freycincet, who had become a "titular member."

He then undertook to write a Chronological History of the Two Americas for a work that was about to be published—*L'Art de Verifier les Dates*. He also translated into English many literary and scientific memoirs and an introduction to Callet's Tables of Logarithms. A memoir of his on the Antiquities of America was inserted in a work on the Ruins of Palenque, and he wrote on Bibliography. He was a member of the Philomathic, Philotechnic, Annatic, Geographical, Agricultural, and Antiquarian Societies of Paris, of the Philosophical Societies of New York and Philadelphia, of the Belfast Literary Society, the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, Doctor of the Medical Faculty of New York, &c., &c.

Samuel Griswold Goodrich, the well-known "Peter Parley," tells us that being in Paris in January, 1824, he was taken by Warden to a meeting of the "Institute," where, among his colleagues, were such distinguished men as Arago, Lamarck, Cuvier, and Laplace.

[2] *Belfast Literary Society*, Belfast, 1902, p. 189.

Warden never married, and he never returned to his native land, although others who left under the same circumstances as himself came back with impunity.

His death took place on the 9th of October, 1845, in Paris, where he had lived for the previous thirty-eight years, but I do not know his burial place.

I have been unable to ascertain what associates he had amongst the exiled Irish patriots in Paris during his residence there, but it was probably one of them who furnished a sketch of his life to the *Nation*.

[I have to express my obligations to W. I. Addison, Registrar of the University of Glasgow, to Miss Sophia Warden for interesting documents connected with the life of her distinguished relative, and to Dr. John S. Crone, London, well known for his papers in this Journal and in the *Northern Whig*.]

A

FAREWELL ADDRESS

TO

THE JUNTO

OF THE

PRESBYTERY OF BANGOR,

WHICH MET IN BELFAST,

ON THE SIXTH OF NOVEMBER,

— 1798 —

Glasgow:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR, MDCCXCVIII.

A FAREWELL ADDRESS

To the Junto of the Presbytery of Bangor.

Reverend Gentlemen,

WITH painful feelings, I am under the disagreeable necessity of addressing you.

WISHING to become a preacher of the Gospel, I committed myself to your care, on account of your remarkable attention to young men, in regard to their morals and improvement in every Science; and, likewise on account of your being celebrated for the liberality of your political, as well as religious opinions. I underwent every examination in the Languages and Sciences with approbation. I delivered several essays on subjects proposed for

discussion, and eminently calculated for my improvement, which you were pleased to receive with approbation bordering on partiality.

HAVING gone through the usual course of trials I was licensed to preach the GOSPEL at a full meeting of your Presbytery in May, 1797: whether my Sermons were well received or not since that time, every audience whom I had the honor of addressing, can best testify.

IT has ever been my study to preserve a good moral character, and I never committed any action meriting Church-censure. I can appeal to that amiable and enlightened FAMILY where I spent the happiest days of my life as Tutor, that I laboured with all the zeal of enthusiastic youth to become wiser and better—the best examples and advice kept by my heart void of reproach.

BEFORE the late unfortunate rebellion, my political character was never called in question. I felt too sensibly for my countrymen; but abhorred assassination, and I dreaded the horrors of a revolution, in a country, where Knowledge and Virtue were wanting. Since the rebellion, I have been detained a prisoner.———Being well informed that some of the people in Killinchy intended to give me up as a sacrifice to prevent the village of Killinchy from being burned, I surrendered myself to Jas Baillie of Ringdufferin;—having likewise procured a pass from Colonel Stapleton.—My trial was appointed the next day;———but did not go on. Sometime afterwards I prayed for a trial which was refused. I told my friends that rather than lye in Jail, I would agree to go to America on certain terms. The Rev. Mr. Hewitson, Rector of Killinchy, and Dr. Lowry,* made an agreement with Colonel Stapleton, that I was to banish myself to America, only for a few years. Immediately after this compact, I was escorted in obedience to General Nugent's orders, by a party of Dragoons, from Down Jail to the Donegall-Arms prison in Belfast. I was ordered by the person who acted as Crown Solicitor to prepare for trial immediately. My trial was appointed no less than four different times, and after bringing evidence to Town, I was still disappointed; there being no charge against me, but my supposed abilities, my preaching inflamatory discources as they were called, and being likewise suspected of writing for the cause of *United Irishmen.*— Some time afterwards I was hurried on board a prison ship, where, I endured confinement almost insufferable for the space of six weeks. I was again removed back by the interest of a worthy FEMALE FRIEND. At this time, I had the strongest hopes of being liberated from General Nugent's promise to me, that I was to be admitted to bail in a *few days*.

I depended much upon the interest of a Magistrate, my *professed* friend,

* THE great attention disinterested and unmerited friendship, that I have experienced from these Gentlemen, in the exertions they have made to redeem me from captivity, has created impressions of Esteem and Gratitude in MY MIND, which language is unequal to describe, and which, till I cease to exist, *can never be effaced* from my memory.

and on whose gratitude I thought I had a claim, but who sent to the Committee the examination of a person in Killinchy, who on account of his being very active in the Saintfield fight, would *falsely criminate* me, to preserve his own safety. In consequence of this, I was brought before the Committee, by General Goldie's orders, and commanded immediately to give a decisive answer, whether I would take a trial, or agree to transport myself, *for ever*, from his Majesty's dominions in the course of a month. Thinking that my sentence, at any rate, would be banishment, from the seeming activity of an Officer against me, from the evidence of the person who was to prosecute, and from the prejudice of party, I accepted of the latter.—I have thought it necessary to give you this impartial narrative of my political situation, since I became a prisoner.

INTENDING to take my passage in a vessel at Larne, Bound for Charlestown, I sent my compliments to the Moderator of your Presbytery for a Certificate of my being licensed to preach. Never was I more astonished than when he called upon me the day after your meeting, and said, "*that he was extremely sorry to inform me, that the Presbytery from* MOTIVES OF PRUDENCE, *unanimously refused to grant it!!!*"

I MAY venture to say, that such a proceeding never was equalled either in antient or modern times. A Presbytery to erect themselves into an ECCLESIASTICAL *Court Martial*, and without one single evidence or proof, without even the form of a trial—to pronounce me guilty, and to deny me a Certificate which they were bound to give, and which in JUSTICE they could not refuse, is a thing *novel* and singular, indeed!

A PRESBYTERY too, who were the most strenuous advocates of REFORM and CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, who merited the eulogium of a Grattan! "*that they mixed the milk of humanity with the mild benignity of the* GOSPEL;" to refuse a Certificate of what they, themselves, thought me worthy, and bestowed upon me, appears inconsistent, and, I must say, absurd in the extreme;—and when I am deprived, by Government, of finishing the study of Medicine, and denied an asylum in my native country—I must call it the *perfection of cruelty!*[3]

EVERY one of you has both publicklyand privately circulated REPUBLICAN MORALITY—that religion is a personal thing—that CHRIST is head of the Church—that his kingdom is not of this world—that the WILL OF THE PEOPLE should be the SUPREME LAW; and now from *terror*, to shew your fatuous *glow-worm* loyalty, you have met as a *military inquisition*, incorporated the mild RELIGION of JESUS, with your *selfish serpentine cunning*, and the present political fermentation, superseded the Court of Enquiry and Court Martial, and deviated from JUSTICE, HONOR, and HONESTY.

[3] There can be no doubt but Lord Castlereagh instigated this probably through Robert Black, Presbyterian Minister, who acted in his behalf.—*Ed.*

WHY did you not expell me from your body;—or, at least formally withdraw my licence, if you thought that I had forfeited my claim to the character of a Preacher of CHRISTIANITY?

WHY did you not either deny that you licensed me, or give me a certificate?

HAD you any business with my political character? No; my moral character alone came under your cognizance.

SUPPOSE that I was now to meet a trial, what would a Court Martial think of me? The refusal of a certificate of my being licensed by my own Presbytery, supposes that my character is grossly immoral: for, they would hardly believe that you have seized the reins of Government, and usurped its powers: You have pronounced me a culprit, and endeavoured to calumniate me in the basest manner. Whether or not, such conduct is honest, I leave to your serious reflection. If I have committed errors, they were errors of a young mind, not able to distinguish what was practicable from what was visionary.—But can you lay your hands upon your hearts and say, that you were not zealous in cherishing the principles of REFORM, and diffusing A BROTHERHOOD of AFFECTION among your People? Will adversity and the *collission of parties* cause you to deviate from your INTEGRITY in a CAUSE so GREAT and GOOD? I am to be hurried from my connections and DEAREST FRIENDS, to a foreign shore;—and, for you to add to my distress, is *mean* and *dastardly*.—I feel it the more, as I thought I could depend on *you* for every friendship:—Men respectable for your talents, and formerly unimpeached as to your integrity.

IN denying me a Certificate, the clearest and most decisive evidence was absolutely necessary, but, you have shewed yourselves ignorant of, or, inimical to the principles of JUSTICE, of the nature, the evidence, and the very form that ought to be observed in all JUDICIAL proceedings.

WILL you punish TRUTH and VIRTUE as CRIMES? Have you discovered me the coward that would purchase happiness by *betraying* another?—No; yet, you have deprived, I may say, *robbed* me of a Certificate, and with it, as far as in your power, of my character and even the means of subsisting in a foreign land;—but, *you* cannot rob me of the endowments of Learning and Science, and the approbation of my own mind. You taught me to be a REFORMER of the world's abuses; and, you would now make me the Martyr of VIRTUE. With the eyes of philosophy I contemplate a GOOD GOD, who looks down with an offended eye upon such *impure passions* and *proceedings* as Yours.—But, I can appeal to that same GOD, who best knows my heart, that I have no ambition but to possess Generous Feelings, an Enlarged Understanding, and a LOVE to MANKIND.

IF I have committed errors, you, as the Angels of Mercy, ought to forgive youthful imperfections. Christian fortitude should inspire you with invincible

spirit and consummate conduct; but, you have disregarded the duties of RELIGION, the ties of HONOR, and the sweet consolation of human pity.—*Your* Names ought to be *erased* from the annals of the *friends* of MEN, the FRIENDS of VIRTUE, and their COUNTRY'S FRIENDS.—How dreadful! how gloomy is the prospect, when dissenters have the *will* and the *power* to crush the seeds of KNOWLEDGE!

DOES the imperious necessity of the times demand such a *sacrifice* of principle? I forbear to be particular; but let a MINISTER of JESUS, *who* was most active against me, look at a Northern Paper; where, in glowing language, he once enlarged on the praises of REPUBLICAN MORALITY and DEMOCRATICAL GOVERNMENT,—"and also the *baneful* influence and *wide* desolation of a *settled system* of *Tyranny* and *Oppression.*"

OUGHT you not as Ministers of the BENEVOLENT JESUS, endeavour to alleviate the distresses of your Countrymen? does RELIGION exclude a prisoner from tasting her salutary balm and sweet influence. Have the Members of the *Presbytery* of Bangor, now concerted to annihilate principles which they have long earnestly laboured to establish? Have they sold themselves to be the *tools* of *savage* and ferocious cruelty?—I forbear to disclose truths which would render your characters more *vile* and *detestable.*

CAN you lay aside your dignity as men, and at the expence of sympathy and every amiable virtue, become the dupes of others? Perhaps, I may yet convince you, that to some better constituted Tribunal you ought to have referred for the nature and proof of my crimes. The tear of pity flows involuntarily, when I think of the present character of men, whom I before esteemed and loved.—*You* have acted contrary to the very principles of Dissenters, and of human nature.

REMEMBER, ye *nominal Ministers* of JESUS, that such times will not always exist.—However shielded you are at present by *power* or protected by *interest*, there may come a day when such conduct will be brought to light and punishment.

SUCH behaviour seems to evince that you do not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments; but, if you do, remember that SACRED JUSTICE will *then* lift her awful head,——VIRTUE will be rewarded and *vice* punished. Remember that ye are accountable for your talents and the use you make of them.——Remember the character of CHRIST and his DISCIPLES, whom ye have *professed* to imitate. Think what effect your late behaviour must have upon the morals and the feelings of your hearers. What will a Fox, a Grattan, and a Thousand others now think of you? From *Terror*, and from a *false mistaken* idea of Gratitude, on account of your REGIUM DONUM, you would sacrifice your HONESTY, your FRIENDS, and your very NAME!! Ye have attempted the absurdity of punishing opinion by sheltering yourselves under a *pestilential shade.*—Your proceedings have been desultory, unmanly and unjust.

FAREWELL! in all probability I will never see you; but, you have made an impression on my mind, which will cause me long to remember you. —It is the wish of my heart, although banished from my native country, from being thought inimical to its government, that *peace*, *freedom*, and *prosperity* may be speedily restored to this wretched and widowed land; and that she may enjoy them to the end of time.

EVERY confidence seems to be destroyed among my wretched countrymen, and the spirit of Patriotism to have breathed its last. I trust they will resume their influence; Then, perhaps, when, alas! too late, the *iunto* of the *Bangor Presbytery*, who have endeavoured to complete my ruin, may be convinced, that the worth of man depends upon his actions, and his happiness or misery upon virtue *alone*.

AGAIN, farewell! that your conduct towards me, may be the last instance of your MEANNESS, INJUSTICE, and CRUELTY, is the sincere wish of

D. B. Warden.

ARDSRATHA:
The Church, the See, and the Parish.

By the Rev. Charles Scott, M.A.

ARDSTRAW, or more correctly, Ardsratha, an ancient parish church in the Diocese of Derry, and County of Tyrone, once the site of a see, has had a remarkable history. In early times the district was the territory of one of the tribes of the Province of Aileach, the Ui Fiachrach Arda Sratha, and is enumerated in the Book of Rights. According to O'Donovan, this tribe was originally a tribe of Oriel, descended from Fiachra, a son of Colla Uais, King of Ireland. Afterwards the district became the battle-ground between the O'Gormleys of Magh Iotha and the O'Carellans of Glendermot. In later times it fell under the power of the O'Neills in the movement south of this powerful family from Iniseon to Omagh and Dungannon, on their way towards Armagh.

The church was founded by St. Eoghan or Eugenius, who is supposed to have died in the year 617. Other accounts, however, make him to have been a disciple of St. Patrick. He died on the 23rd of August, as this is the

day of his commemoration. Ardstraw continued in Celtic times to have been a place of importance, and seems to have escaped the ravages of the Northmen. In the rearrangements made at the end of the Celtic period to conform the Irish to the Latin Church ideals, it was designated as the head of a diocese embracing North Tyrone and Derry as far as the limits of Connor. However, the great monastic church of Derry, founded by St. Columba, and the residence of the later successors of Columbcille, seems gradually to have superseded it. The powerful local family of Derry, the O'Carellans, now known as Carletons and Carliles, asserted their authority in North Tyrone. Several members of this sept became Bishops of Tyrone or Ardstraw, and for a time it was doubtful whether the rural see of Ardstraw would be united to Clogher or to Derry. One of the O'Carellans gets the credit, "by the power of his tribe," of uniting it to Derry, making Derry the head of the diocese. Ardstraw was burned by Sir John de Courcy, and became in course of years merely a country church. Under Anglo-Roman feudal Church law the lands passed to the Diocesan as being see lands, and were held by the coarb or herenagh, the local representative of the founder, under the see as a tenant, by a peculiar tenure not known to English law, and the subject of much discussion in the Reformation period. At the Plantation of Ulster a new town was built two miles away, called Newton Stewart. The old church having fallen into decay, a new parish church of Ardstraw was built in a central position at Newton Stewart.

The following annals are of interest, showing the various changes in the course of years:—

617. St. Eoghan or Eugenius died August 23rd.
678. Maelfothartaigh, Bishop of Ardstraw, died.
705. Coibhdeanach, Bishop of Ardstraw, died on the 26th of November.
850. Maenghal, Abbot of Ardstraw, died.
878. Aenghus, son of Maelcaularda, successor of Bishop Eoghan of Ardstraw, died.
921. Maelpadraig, son of Morann, Abbot of Drumcliffe and Ardstraw, died.
946. Cathusach, son of Ailchi, Bishop of Cinel Eoghan, died.
949. Guaire, airchinneach of Ardstraw, died.
1064. Doilghen Na Sona, airchinneach of Ardstraw, died.
1069. Ardstraw was burned.
1099. The Daimhliag of Ardstraw was burned.
1101. Murtough O'Brien, King of Munster, plundered and burned many churches and forts about Ardstraw.
1118. The Synod of Rathbresail arranged that the Diocese of Ardstraw should extend to Connor.
1127. Maelbrighde Ua Forannain, airchinneach of Ardstraw, died.

1152. We find that at the Synod of Kells there was present Murray O'Coffey, Bishop of Kinalowen, that is, Ardstraw. He died in 1173, and was buried at Derry. But we also find that in 1158 Flaherty O'Brolcan, successor of Columba and Abbot of Derry, was made a bishop. He died in 1175.

1174. Awley O'Murray became Bishop of Ardstraw or Tyrone. He died in 1185, and is termed "a brilliant lamp that enlightened clergy and laity," and we find the curious statement that he was buried at his father's feet, the Bishop O'Coffey, at Derry.

1179. Gilladowney O'Forranan, airchinneach of Ardstraw, and Mulmurry MacGilla Colum, sec-nab (prior) of Ardstraw, died.

1179. In the same year "a peace was concluded by Donough O'Carrellan and all the Clandermot with the Cinel Moen and O'Gormley. This peace was concluded between them in the church of Ardstraw, upon the relics of that church, and those of Donoughmore and Urney." This peace could not have lasted long, for we read that part of Magh Iotha, O'Gormley's country, was seized by O'Carrellan. Then "Ardstraw, Donoughmore, and Urney were desolated by the Magh Iotha." The sept of O'Carrellan of Clan Dermot was thus acquiring power in North Tyrone. But the quarrel still went on.

1180. Randal O'Carellan was killed by the Kinel-Moen, in defence of St. Columbkille. In the midst of Derry Columbkille, Donough O'Carrellan was killed by the Cinel Connell, in revenge of his treacherous conduct towards O'Gormley, and by the miracles of the saints whose guarantee he had violated (by the peace of the year before).

1185. Florence O'Carrellan, a member of this powerful family, became Bishop of Tyrone. He is styled "a noble and select senior." He was at Iona in 1203, upholding the rights of the Irish Church. He died in 1230.

1198. Ardstraw was plundered and burned by Sir John de Courcy.

1230. Giolla an Coibhe O'Carrellan succeeded. About 1266 Ardstraw was separated from Clogher, and incorporated with Derry "by the power of Bishop O'Carrellan and his tribe." He died July, 1279.

1279. Florence O'Carrellan II., Bishop of Tyrone, styled also Bishop of Derry, succeeded. He died in July, 1293. Ardstraw had now become merely a country church, and we hear no more about it for a hundred years.

1395. Ardstraw and Clogher, with all their various riches, were burned.

1397. During a vacancy in the Diocese of Derry, the Lord Primate, Archbishop Colton, undertook a visitation of that diocese. Leaving the Diocese of Armagh he made his progress into the Diocese of Derry, with a

considerable retinue. The record gives us interesting details of his proceedings.

1397. October 8th—"The Lord Archbishop, arriving with his retinue at the village of Ardstraw, and having summoned before him the Reeve and the Herenachs of the village aforesaid, commanded them to make speedy supply of things needful both to the men and horses; as also for a sufficient night watch for the person, goods, and things of the said Archbishop and his retinue, who, obediently submitting to his commands, caused to be brought and furnished at the common expense of the Herenachs and inhabitants of the said village, bread, butter, milk, and flesh meat: halters, straw, and corn for the horses, for each house where the men and horses of the said Archbishop were lodged, according to the number of men and horses lodged in their houses: and with great diligence placed night watches of men through different parts of the village aforesaid, and especially round the house where the aforesaid Lord Archbishop was lodged.

On the ninth day of the month of October aforesaid (1397), the aforesaid Lord Archbishop, consenting to the urgent request of Sir Laurence O'Boyle, Vicar of the church, and of the Herenachs and parishioners of Ardstraw, to re-consecrate (reconcile) the cemetery, and the church, polluted, as was said, by the shedding of blood, having taken his station in front of the said cemetery, reverently read and said certain prayers; then entering the church he blessed the letanies (so called), the salt, the ashes, the water, and the wine; and sprinkled holy water throughout the said cemetery, as is contained in the "Pontifical Book." The re-consecration being finished,—the said Lord Primate proceeded to the Parish of Urney.

Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i., p. 186. First series.

1456. This parish came under the influence of the new movement, "the coming of the Friars." At Scarvaherin a friary was founded by Turloch MacDolagh for Franciscans of the Third Order. Another was founded at Pubble. These were both granted at the Dissolution to Sir Henry Piers, and are now only known as parish burying-grounds.

1514. O'Donnell (Aodh) and O'Neill (Art) made a friendly peace with each other, and came to a meeting on the bridge of Ardstraw.

1595. O'Neill (Turlough Laigneac) died at Strabane, and was interred at Ardstraw.

1609. At Limavady an Inquisition was held to determine the facts with regard to the lands and rights of property of the see of Derry. From it we learn the position with regard to such lands granted originally to the founders of churches:—"The said portion of land and the third

part of the tithes continued free unto the corbe or Herenagh for many years, until the Church of Rome established Bishops in this Kingdom, and decreed that every corbe or Herenagh should give unto the Bishop (within whose diocese he lived) a yearly pension,' and lands were so held free until the Plantation of Ulster, when these lands came under English law. Then "all the Termon and Herenagh lands in the Diocese of Derry, except Derry, were annexed to the see to be held in frankalmoigne (the Herenachs and Corbes having been adjudged to have no legal title to the same)."

Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i., p. 77, 78.

1616. 13 James I.—25 May.—Grant from the King to John, Bishop of Derry, and his successors for ever.—The termon or erenagh land of Ardseragh or Ardsragh, containing 16 balliboes, called Listry Killin, Cooleraglasse, Kilshoglo, Lisnafertie, Carnekernan, Praluske, Crossgoala, Burrinecreeny, Curranefarne, Coolegar, Doon Genan, Cavanescrivy, Bemelad, Laragh, and Shanmallagh. These lands were erected into the manor of Ardsragh.

2 Chas. I.—May 24.—Letters patent containing grant of glebe land to Dr. John Richardson, rector or vicar of the parish church of Ardsragh, in the Co. Tyrone, of the balliboe of land of Carrowcorkean, Faher, otherwise Faheragh, Lurgakege, one balliboe in the barony of Strabane, which were assigned by the Commissioners of the Plantation of Ulster for augmentation of the glebe of the Parish of Ardsragh, for the maintenance of the parson having care of souls.

Report of Established Church Commission, p. 182, 183.

In 1833 the Parliamentary report states that the see lands of Derry, in the Parish of Ardstraw, are held by the administrator of Sir H. Bruce, as tenant of 350 acres profitable, and 135 unprofitable, land. The remainder of 6,000 acres were held by William Chambers, under twelve separate denominations.

At the Disestablishment, according to the Report of the Church Temporalities Commission, the tenant of the see lands in the Parish of Ardstraw was the Marquis of Abercorn. The Hamilton family, lords of the neighbouring Parish of Camus or Strabane, had settled in Ardstraw Parish, and built the splendid residence called Baronscourt, within a short distance of Ardstraw. The rental of bishop's lands in Ardstraw held by the Marquis of Abercorn was reported in 1868 under the following denominations:—

	ACRES.	RENT.
Ardstraw ...	677 2 0 ...	£5 9 7
Birnaghs ...	447 3 7 ...	4 16 11
Bruckless ...	297 0 19 ...	3 1 1
Carnkenny ...	202 2 0 ...	1 5 4

		ACRES.				RENT.		
Killen ...	...	404	1	0	...	3	17	7
Kilstroll	...	908	3	0	...	9	4	2
Lislafferty	...	136	0	0	...	2	8	6
Magheracotton	...	786	3	0	...	8	14	6
Meaghey	...	768	2	0	...	9	4	2
Miltown	...	475	2	0	...	6	15	9
Tevenney	...	472	1	0	..	3	17	7
Noblereagh	...	529	3	0	...	4	16	11½
Ardstraw	...		...		...	67	11	4

The renewal fine being £678 11s. 9d., held for lease of 21 years from 1st Nov., 1867.

By the Irish Church Act the income of the see lands of Derry, in the Parish of Ardstraw, passed to secular objects. We have seen how it gradually changed from its original purpose, the maintenance of the Church of St. Eoghan to be a possession of the See of Derry. It is interesting to note the changes made by Canon law, Feudal law, and English law upon Celtic Church law and custom, not only in the matter of property but of jurisdiction and ecclesiastical rights and duties. Canon law gave all jurisdiction to the diocesan, and all lands originally given to a bishop. Feudal law could only recognise the local coarb or successor of the founder, and erenagh or head of the Church, as holding in some sort a tenure from the diocesan as lord, and imposed some of the incidents of tenure, as for instance rent, or pension, and payment upon marriage of a daughter. English law could recognise no tenancy but absolute ownership in the diocesan, and no local rights in the coarb or erenagh. Amongst these rights was the patronage of the parish. We see by the particulars of Archbishop Colton's visitation that at that time the coarb or erenagh occupied a position like that of patron, lay rector, and churchwarden all in one person, and that he had a vicar to perform spiritual duties. Canon law and feudal law could so far recognise Celtic custom. But English lawyers in the reign of King James could make nothing of all this, and swept it all away as a vicious custom; and so the bishop got the lands, and the Crown the patronage.

1610. By Letters Patent, August 29, 1610, the patronage of the living of Ardstraw was granted to Trinity College, Dublin, and from that time the rectors were usually Fellows of T.C.D.

1622. In the Ulster Visitation Book, by Bishop Downham, edited by Rev. W. A. Reynell, in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, we find—

> "The Church of Ardstragh is ruinous. Sir R. Newcomen, kt., gave licence to build the church in another place, which yet he hath not begun. The greatest part of the parish desiring that the old church might be repaired, meanwhile another place is provided for

Divine service. The Incumbent is John Richardson, D.D., a reverend man for his learning and life, and a worthy preacher. Valuation £30, which is somewhat above the third part of the clear value. The vicesima is 30. There are three townlands of glebe, one of them (Faghernah) is detained by Sir David Leigh.

"The Incumbent discharges the cure by a sufficient preacher, allowing him a yearly stipend of £20 sterling."

1617. Nov. 11—John Richardson, Archdeacon of Derry, 1622; Bishop of Ardagh, 1633. This was the Dr. Richardson selected by Bedell to be his successor in Ardagh.

1639. Richard Winter died 1641. During the Commonwealth period William Moorcraft, a Presbyterian, officiated.

1660. Cæsar Williamson, F.T.C.D. (elected Fellow during the Commonwealth), became Dean of Cashel.

1661. Thos. Buttolph, D.D., Rector of Urney and Dean of Raphoe. There is a tablet to his memory in St. Patrick's, Dublin.

1676. James Kyan, F.T.C.D., Prebendary of St Patrick's, d. 1683.

1680. Adam Ussher, M.A., d. 1711.

1713. John Hall, F.T.C.D., d. 1755. 1727. Dr. J. Hall built the church at his own expense.

1735. Claud Gilbert, F.T.C.D., d. 1742, son of Claud Gilbert, Vicar of Belfast, and a native of Belfast. 1722. Professor of Divinity.

1743. Robert Shaw, F.T.C.D., d. 1752.

1753. John Pellisier, F.T.C.D., d. 1781. 1746. Professor of Divinity.

1781. Thomas Leland, F.T.C.D., d. 1785. Author of the History of Ireland.

1785. Thomas Wilson, F.T.C.D., d. 1799.

1800. George Hall, F.T.C.D., Provost, Bishop of Dromore, 1811. 1803. The spire was added by Dr. Geo. Hall.

1806. Gerald Fitzgerald, F.T.C.D., 1819. Author of the account of Ardstraw in the Statistical Survey.

1819. Richard Herbert Nash, d. 1847. Ex. F.T.C.D.

1847. James MacIvor, F.T.C.D., d. 1886. Professor of Moral Philosophy.

1886. William James Christie.

1906. Arthur Vaughan Dobbs, B.A.

According to the Parliamentary return of 1836, Ardstraw Parish contained 44,974 acres, and its population in 1831 was 21,212. Its gross income was £1,646, arising £1,089 from tithes and £516 from value of 128 acres of glebe. In the vestry accounts burial-places are mentioned at Scarvahern and Pubble, and £2 10s. was expended in building a watch-house at Pubble burial-place.

In the return of 1868 the parish is reduced to 25,000 acres, no doubt due to the formation of the perpetual curacies of Drumclamph and Baronscourt.

At the Disestablishment Trinity College, Dublin, received in compensation for the value of the advowson of Ardstraw £9,891 14s. 8d. The ancient burial-ground of Ardstraw became vested by the Irish Church Act in the local Board of Guardians.

The parish has within its boundaries several interesting remains of antiquity. There is a very complete cromleac, called Cloghogle, and several castles. One is situated within the grounds of Baronscourt. A short distance above Newtownstewart stand the remains of a castle of the O'Neills, locally called Harry Ouree's Castle. This name is that of one of the most renowned in local tradition of the O'Neill family, Henry Aimhreidh, son of Neill Mor O'Neill, Roydamna, or heir presumptive of Tireoghan, celebrated by the Four Masters for his justice, nobility, and hospitality, who died on St. Brendan's Day, 1392. He was styled Aimhreidh, or the contentious, because he was of the most peaceable disposition. His son, Donnell, assumed the lordship of Tireoghan in 1403.

The lands of part of Ardstraw parish were granted by James I. to his retainer, Thomas Clephane, who, however, failed to fulfil the conditions of the grant, for he planted Irishmen on his lands instead of Englishmen and Scotchmen. Newtownstewart Castle, commanding the bridge, was built by Sir Robert Newcomen in 1619. Sir William Stewart, who married a daughter of Sir Robert Newcomen, received from Charles I. a grant of the lands of Newtownstewart, originally called Tislas, and from that fact the place received its modern name. The Castle was burnt by Sir Phelim Ruadh O'Neill in 1641, and rebuilt by Sir William Stewart, grandson of the above, who became in 1682 Lord Mountjoy.* It was occupied for a night by James II. in his retreat from Lifford. The next morning it was dismantled by his directions. Sir William Stewart, third Viscount Mountjoy, was created Earl of Blessington. When he died the title became extinct. Luke Gardiner, whose father succeeded to the Stewart estate, was created Baron and Viscount Mountjoy, and his son was created Earl of Blessington in 1816. These titles have again become extinct. The Stewart family is now represented by the Stewarts, Baronets, of Fortstewart, Co. Donegal.

No trace remains of St. Eoghan's Church at Ardstraw. A pretty extensive burying-ground, divided into two parts by the public road, is situate on a high ground just above a strath alongside the River Derg, and close by the bridge, which still remains a fine specimen of an old narrow bridge. The modern village is at the south end of the bridge. The river, the bridge, and the burial-ground are the only landmarks in the place consecrated by the life work of St. Eoghan.

* The title of Mountjoy was held by four lines: Charles Blount, eighth Lord Mountjoy in England, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1697. His natural son was created Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Newport, and the title was extinct in the fourth earl.

Miscellanea.

THE WESTS OF BALLYDUGAN.

The following is from the *Down Recorder* of 23 January, 1869:—

"GOSSIPINGS ABOUT THE PARISH OF BALLEE, ETC.

"BALLYSALLAGH.—It will be recollected that Dr. Baldwin purchased the Dwelling, Ballysallagh, &c., 13 May, 1752, and residing constantly in Dublin, he decided to parcel out the estate in fee farm, or for lives renewable, as had been done on the Ash-Rainey property. In pursuance of this arrangement, on the 1 August, 1752, he granted for 3 lives renewable the Eastern moiety of Ballysallagh to John MacMechan, who, in January, 1772, assigned it to James and Hugh Long. The Longs at the latter end of July, 1773, disposed of their interest to John Auchinleck, of Strangford, who married Sophia, daughter of Richard Agnsworth, by his wife Sophia, grand-daughter of Toby Hall, of Narrow Water, by his wife Margaret, sister of the Earl of Kildare, and daughter of Toby Hall, of Narrow Water, by his wife Catherine, daughter of Rowland Savage, of Portaferry. Auchinleck, who also possessed part of the lands of Dunsfort, in this Barony, and of Black Abbey, in the Ards, had issue two daughters, of whom Elizabeth married the Rev. Bernard Ward, of Vianstown, Vicar of Rathmullan, and one son, James Agnsworth Aughinleck, of Ballydugan House, now the residence of Wm. Keown, M.P."

"We find a Tichborn West, of the Co. *Wicklow*, married to Mary, *sister* of Bernard Ward, Sheriff of this County, in 1690." etc.

H. SOMERSET WARD.

THE LINDSAY CRAWFORDS OF DERRYBRUSK.

I HAVE read with interest the article *Derrybrusk, on Lough Erne* (vol. xii., p. 125). When there many years ago I copied the following inscription from an old, flat, overgrown tombstone, which may be of interest to the readers of the U.J.A. :—

"Here lieth the body of Lindsay Crawford second son of the honourable Viscount Garnock of Kilbirney in Scotland who departed this life 2 June 1745 aged 47 years as also the body of his brother James Lindsay Crawford and son of the above honourable Viscount Garnock who departed this life December 1745 aged 45 years."

The Manse, Comber. T. S. GRAHAM.

[It would be interesting to know how these two brothers came to Derrybrusk. Had they anything to do with Prince Charlie?—ED.]

"THE WEARING OF THE GREEN."

THE version of "The Wearing of the Green" contributed to the Journal, vol. xii., p. 143, by the Rev. Canon Lett, is to be found in the Dublin *Citizen* of January, 1840, the editor of which states that he "put together" the words himself, basing his lines upon his recollection of the various street ballads written to the air. The song has been re-published within the last few years.

Dundalk. BRYAN J. JONES.

WILD DUCK ON THE LAGAN.

THE following advertisement is taken from the *Belfast News-Letter* of 6 March, 1737—one of its earliest issues. The Hills were then resident at Hill Hall, after they had removed from Moylone (Malone), and before they founded the Hill's Borough, where is now the family residence:—

"WHEREAS ſeveral Wild-Ducks, which were bred in the Gardens belonging to the Hon. *Arthur Hill*, Eſq; have of late been ſhot. Now this is to give Notice, that any Perſon who will diſcover upon Oath againſt any who have kill'd or ſhot at any Time, or ſhall hereafter ſhoot at, or kill any Wild-Duck on the *Lagan* Water, betwixt *Sham's-Bridge* and the Bleaching-Green in *Galwally*, ſhall have five *Britiſh* Shillings paid to them by the Printer hereof."—ED.

THE following is from the same paper. It shows that a large bleach green existed so close to Belfast as the Fryar's Bush. The latter was even then an ancient graveyard and a favourite burial place. The Penal times were not gone, and Mass was said here, there being no chapel permitted in Belfast:—

"To be SOLD or LETT,

"A Good Buck-houſe, about eighty Foot long, with a well water'd Bleaching Green containing about four Plantation Acres; ſituate at Fryar's Buſh, within a Mile of Belfaſt, whereon may be bleached upwards of 1200 Pieces in one Seaſon; belonging to Mr. James Adair, which he holds by Leaſe for about ten Years now to come, at a yearly Rent of 5l. 12s. Together with ſeveral Utenſils which can't be conveniently removed. Enquire of the ſaid James Adair and know further."—ED.

THE NEWTOWNARDS LIGHT DRAGOONS.

THERE is a picture of a helmet of this Yeomanry Regiment, and a short account of same, in the *Newtownards Chronicle* for 18 August, 1906.

SOUTERRAIN IN GLENDUN.

THERE is an illustrated account of a souterrain, recently discovered at Artloan, in Glendun, in the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* of January, 1907.—ED.

GRAVEYARDS AROUND BELFAST.

FOR some time past a series of articles on our old graveyards, by "Chiel," has been appearing in the *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, with illustrations. They are popular and excellent productions, but before reprinting, it would be well to have them carefully corrected by some of the older antiquaries of the city.—ED.

CLIFTON STREET GRAVEYARD.

WE hear with pleasure that all the inscriptions in this old city graveyard are being copied literally, under the supervision of E. W. Pim, the painstaking secretary of the Charitable Society, who has already done so much to elucidate the history of this, the oldest charity in Belfast. No better work could be taken in hands, and no better hands could undertake the work. The members of half the old families in the city, and many now extinct, are buried here. The place is excellently cared for and kindly regarded by its custodians, a worthy change from the ruthless and sacrilegious action of the Rev. Edward May, who swept

away every vestige of the old town graveyard in High Street, regardless of every feeling of decency and respect, and sold some of the very ground consecrated for centuries by the burials of those who made Belfast before a May was ever heard of.

F. J. B.

THE WARDS OF MELLIFONT.

THE following may answer the query *re* Charles Ward, of Mellifont, vol. xii., p. 96:—Nicholas Ward, of Castle Ward, Co. Down, M.P. for Downshire, in 1661 (the ancestor of the Viscounts Bangor), by his wife Sarah, dau. of Thoephilus Buckworth, Bishop of Dromore, had, with other issue, a 3rd son:—

Rev. Charles Ward, Treasurer of Kilmegar, who married Deborah, 2nd dau. of Hon. Francis Annesley of Cloghmaghericatt, Co. Down (the ancestor of the Earls Annesley), by his wife Deborah, dau. of Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath, and widow of John Bowdler of Dublin, and had, with other issue, a son:—

Rev. Bernard Ward, Precentor of Down Cathedral, who married Barbara Knox or Rathmullan, and died 1784 (will dat. 7 Mar 1784, prob 8 April 1784), having had issue:—

1. Arthur Ward.
2. Charles Ward, of whom presently.
3. Rev. Dr. Ralph Ward, had a son, Arthur Hill Ward, living 1784.
4. Anne, married, in 1759, Richard Chaple Whaley, of Whaley Abbey, Co. Wicklow, and had issue, a son, Thomas Whaley, a minor, in 1784. She *m.* 2ndly John Richardson.

The second son, Charles Ward, of Mellifont, Co. Antrim, a Director of the Bank of Ireland, had by his first (an eldest son) wife, Alicia Stewart; with a son John, living in 1784; Rev. Bernard Ward, of Vianstown House, Co. Down, who married, in 1799, Elizabeth Sophia, dau. of John Auchinleck, of Strangford, Co. Down, and had issue:—

1. Bernard Ward, J.P., of Vianstown House.
2. Rev. Charles Ward, Rector of Kilwaughter, Co. Antrim, who married, in 1836, Hester Lane (died in 1877, leaving issue), 2nd dau. of John Echlin, of Echlinville (Rhuabane), J.P., D.L., by his wife Thomasina Margaret, dau. of John Armstrong, J.P., of Dublin.
3. John Auchinleck Ward, who married, in 1839, Thomasina Margaret, 3rd dau. of the above John Echlin, and by her, who died in 1879, had issue:—

1. Henry Somerset Ward, of Dunibert House, Balfron, Scotland.
1. Mary Anne, married, in 1831, Rev. Edmond Francis Knox, grandson of the 1st Viscount Northland, and nephew of the 1st Earl of Ranfurly, and by him, who died in 1850, left issue. (*Vide* Burke's Peerage.)

Charles Ward, of Mellifont, married 2ndly Jane ———, living 1782, and had further issue by her:—

3. Charles Ward.
4. Ralph Ward.
1. Sarah Ward.
2. Anne Arabella Ward.

} All living and minors in Oct., 1782.

His prerogative will, dated 24th Oct., 1782, was proved on 24th July, 1786.

E. E. W.

NOTE.—The present edition of Burke's Peerage states Charles Ward to have died before 1754, apparently a mistake for 1784.

CÓRMAC O COMÁIN,

THE BLIND BARD OF GALWAY.

(From an old engraving at Ardrigh.)

Vol. XIII. Part 2. PUBLISHED QUARTERLY. May, 1907.
Yearly Subscription, 5/-; Post Free, 1/- extra. American Subscribers, 1½ Dollars.

Ulster Journal of Archæology

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DAVIDSON & M'CORMACK,
The North Gate Printing Works,
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CÓRMAC O COMÁIN,

THE BLIND BARD OF GALWAY.

(From an old engraving at Ardrigh.)

ULSTER JOURNAL

OF

ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XIII. MAY, 1907. No. 2.

Memoirs of the Irish Bards.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

CORMAC O COMÁIN.

FIN SGEALUIGHE.

THE following notice of a Mayo bard has been taken from Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. The materials were gathered by Ralph Ousley, of Limerick:—

Cormac Dall (Blind Cormac) was born in May, 1703, at Woodstock, near Ballindangan, in the County of Mayo. His parents were poor, and remarkable for the innocence and simplicity of their lives.

Before he had completed the first year of his life, smallpox deprived him of his sight. This circumstance affected his future career. He was well-informed, and could converse freely on every subject. He did not suffer by not attending such schools as were then provided or permitted.

Showing an early fondness for music, a neighbour determined to have him taught to play on the harp. A performer on that instrument was accordingly provided, and Cormac received a few lessons, which he practised with ardour. But, his friend dying suddenly, the harp dropped from his hand, and was never after taken up. It is probable he could not afford to string it.

To poetry and story-telling he was most enamoured. This made him listen eagerly to the songs and metrical tales which he heard sung and recited around the turf fire of his father and his neighbours. These, by frequent recitation, became strongly impressed on his memory. His mind being thus stored, and having no other avocation, he became a regular ꝼeanċaiḋe.

He employed himself in relating legendary tales and reciting genealogies at rural wakes or in landlord's halls. Endowed with a sweet voice and a good ear, his narrations were generally graced with the charms of melody. He did not chant his tales in an uninterrupted *even tone;* the monotony of modulation was frequently broken by cadences, introduced with taste at the close of each stanza. "In rehearsing any of Oisin's poems, or any composition in verse," says Ralph Ousley, "he chants them very much in the manner of our cathedral service."

But it was in singing some of our old airs that he displayed the powers of his voice. On such occasions the audience was always enraptured. I have been assured that no singer ever did Carolan's airs, or Oisin's celebrated hunting song, more justice than Cormac. This song was called Laoi na Seilge. See the original, and translation by Charlotte Brooke, in Walker, vol. i. (2nd ed.), pages 154 *et seq.*

Cormac's musical powers were not confined to his voice. He composed a few airs, one of which Ousley thought extremely sweet. It was feared that those musical pieces would die with their author.

But it was in poetry Cormac delighted to exercise his genius. He has composed several songs and elegies, which have met with applause. As his muse was generally awakened by the call of gratitude, his poetical productions are mostly panegyrical and elegiac; they extol the living and lament the dead. Sometimes he indulged in satire, but not often, though endued with a rich vein of that dangerous gift.

He composed an elegy on the death of Seaghan de Burc, Carrentrile, a man pre-eminent in his day as a sportsman. Walker gives this in full, vol. i. (2nd ed.), page 167, in the Gaelic language, to which the reader is referred.

A man of Cormac's turn of mind must be much gratified with anecdotes of the music and poetry of his country. As he seldom forgets any relation that pleases him, his memory teems with such anecdotes. One of these, respecting the justly celebrated song of Eiḃclín-a-Rúin, the reader will not, I am sure, be displeased to find here. Ceaꝼḃall O'Ḋálaiġ (commonly called Mac Caoṁ Inꝼicneaṁa), brother to Ḋonnċaḋ Moꝼ O'Ḋalaiġ, a man of much consequence in Connacht about two centuries ago, paid his addresses to Eilionoiꝼ Ní Ċaoṁánaċ. She received him favourably, and at length was induced to promise him her hand. But the match, for some reason now forgotten, was broken off, and another man was chosen for the fair Eilionoiꝼ. Of this Ceaꝼḃall, who was still the fond lover, received

information. Disguising himself as a Seanċaiḋe, he hastened to her father's house, which he found filled with guests who were invited to the wedding. After a while, he took up his harp and played and sung the song of Eiḋcin-a-Rúin, which he had composed for the occasion. This, and a private sign, discovered him to his sweetheart. The flame which he had lighted in her breast, and which her friends had in vain endeavoured to smother, now glowed afresh, and she determined to reward so faithful a lover. To do this but one method now remained, and that was an immediate elopement with him; this she effected by contriving to inebriate her father and all his guests. She then escaped with her devoted lover.

Cormac was twice married. By both his wives he had several children. He resided at Sorrelltown, near Dunmore, in the County of Galway, with one of his daughters, who was happily married. In old age his utterance was materially injured by the loss of his teeth, and his voice was impaired, yet he continued to practise his profession till the end. One of his grandsons led him about to the houses of the neighbouring people. His apparel was plain and comfortable; he did not seem solicitous about wealth; his moral character was unstained; his person was large and musculous, and his face is faithfully delineated in the portrait which accompanies this memoir. The portrait was taken from life by William Ousley, of Limerick, and engraved by H. Seguin.

Cormac was still alive when Ousley wrote his notes, and his age was 83 when his portrait was made, so both date from about the year 1786. Cormac probably did not live to be present at the Harp Festival in Belfast in 1792, though Donnċaḋ ó hAmpraiġ, a much older harper than he, was there.

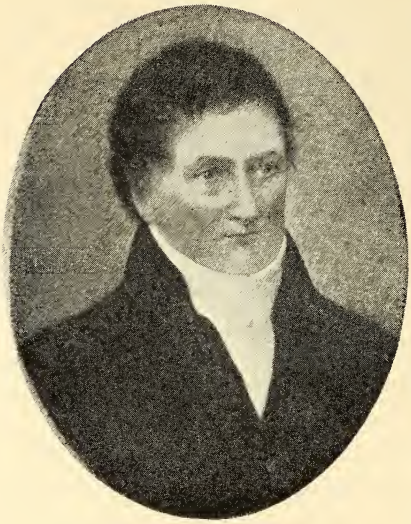
[This account of Cormac Dall is written in the usual fulsome, and often objectionable, tone of the period, which I have not hesitated to alter and amend.—Ed.]

Sir Art de Burc was a friend and helper of Cormac o Comáin. One time Sir Art came home after a long absence, and Cormac dall ran out on the road to meet the carriage. de Burc asked how he knew him, when Cormac replied in Irish, "My heart knows you, and the tops of my toes see you," alluding to his broken shoes. Of course, the appeal had a speedy response. Cormac was buried in the old churchyard of Cill a clunaġh (Killcluney), near the "bloody Bodkins" place. Parlaiġ o Comáin, a descendant, is still living at Dunmore.

I got this from Reaġhan o Raillaiġh, the blind piper, 11-iv-07.—F. J. B.

Volume iv. of the *Irish Folk Song Society* contains some interesting portraits of the Bunting family, and a reprint of Edward Bunting's notes to his *Ancient Music of Ireland*. There is, however, no new information imparted. Bunting's son, Anthony, whose lovely portrait is given, died

23 March, 1851, aged 86. He is buried beside his only daughter, Anne, who died 15 August, 1835, aged 48, in the graveyard adjoining Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. A monument records their names and dates in the cathedral. The Buntings were particular friends of Alexander Mitchell, of Belfast (the blind engineer), and his family.



EDWARD BUNTING.

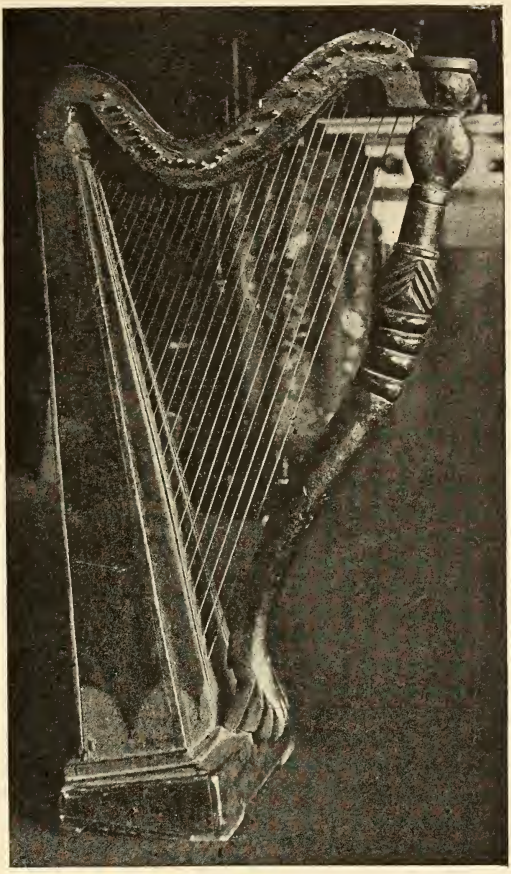
I find the following letter amongst some MacCracken manuscripts. It was written by James Orr to Mary MacCracken, sister of Henry Joy MacCracken, and dated 3 January, 1845, 19 Richmond Place North, Dublin. James Orr had been an agent of the MacCrackens:—

"Amongst those friends which death has deprived us of, I am sure you regretted Edward Bunting. His death was awfully sudden. His temper was so singularly disagreeable that the very great intimacy that existed between him and me had ceased for a length of time previous to his death, so much so that some time had elapsed before I heard he was no more. He has left three very fine children, who are peculiarly blessed in having such a mother as they have. I sometimes meet them in the street; they are all well. But was it not a most extraordinary thing that some friend capable of doing so did not notice his death in such a way as, I am sure, his abilities and wonderful exertion in rescuing the music of his country from, I may say, annihilation, and, as far as such a publication admitted, of giving so valuable a history of ancient Ireland as is contained in his two books; but not one word that I have met with gave reason to think his name was worthy of remembrance, as remembrance, I am sure, with all his imperfections, he deserved."

The harpers were gathered on several occasion by Charles Brett, at Charleville, on the Castlereagh Hills, near Belfast, to celebrate the birthday of their music-loving host. The glen there is still known as Brett's Glen. He was the grandfather of Sir Charles H. Brett, and a great friend of Edward Bunting, who was a resident of Belfast. Amongst the harpers was Donnchadh Ó hAmhraigh, of Derry.

This Charleville was not the first of the name distinguished for bardic gatherings. Meetings of the Munster bards were held in Charleville, Co. Cork, in the beginning of the 18th century, where those assembled recited

their pieces before the people, when prizes were adjudged to the best, and they were publicly crowned and other marks of honour conferred upon them. These meetings were suppressed by the Penal Laws It was well the Brett, of Charleville, Belfast, lived a century later, after Volunteer times, or he too might have had a taste of the old medicine.



IRISH HARP.

In the *Connisseur* of March, 1907, this illustration of "Bog Oak Harp, found in Irish Bog," appears at page 153. At Hendre, in Monmouthshire, England, the residence of Lord Llangattock, this harp is preserved. The text states, "On one cabinet stands a genuine old Irish Harp of bog oak, which was dug up in a bog in Ireland some years ago. It was then in a delapidated condition, but has since been restored." Of course, this is all very vague, and the illustration shows a Harp of a peculiar shape. Any further information regarding it would be welcome.

I have culled the following notes, relating to Northern bards, from Hardiman. I have written their names as they themselves would have had them—not anglicised and garbled, as they too often appear—an easy task, thanks to that popular handbook, recently published by M. H. Gill & Co., Sloinnte Gaedal ir Gall. :—

The following extract, translated from an old historical tale, entitled Cearnagh O Domnail, is the first of the numerous descriptions of the kind that has presented itself:—"The Cearnagh took a loud-toned, sweet-stringed harp; the train below heard him among the rocks, even they who cast the soothing strains which lead the passions captive, which cause some to dissolve in tears, some to rise with joy, and others again to sink in sleep. But sweeter

than all was the song of the Cearnach. The fell woundings, diseases, and persecutions of the world seemed to cease while his sweet strain lasted. He took the harp and it sent forth soft, warbling sounds. Wounded men, and women in travail, and the wily serpent slept while he played. Again he tuned the harp and roused the note of war, wondrous and terrible. He struck the thick chords of bold and fiery notes, then the slow and deepening tones of tragic grief, full of melancholy and gloom, intermingled with melodious strains."

Of the eminent poets, however, alluded to, the following are particularly to be noticed since the days of Aodh O Neill:—Fearghal and Eogan Mac an Bhaird, two bards of Lecale, who sung of the great Northern septs of Magaonghuir of Down, MacSuibne of Dún-na-nGall, O'Domhnaill of Tirconaill, and O'Neill of Tír-eoghan. O'Hurae, a Franciscan friar, author of several divine poems and hymns and some miscellaneous stanzas, which are remarkable for sweetness of versification.

O'Hurae of Oirghial, the bard of the Maguidhir of Fermanagh, a fine genius, of whom there remain several excellent miscellaneous poems.

Seamus O Cuirnáin of Oirghial, author of several sweet elegiac and pastoral pieces and many superior epigrams, abounding with wit and agreeable raillery, who died early in the last [18th] century.

Mag-uiran of Leitrim, a witty and humorous bard, whose poem, entitled the "Revelry of O'Ruarc," has been versified by Swift. Another bard was Dall MacCuart, the author of Faithe O Ceardhalláin. Several poems of his composition were preserved in the manuscript collection of Hardiman. Many of them were possessed of considerable merit, and highly deserving of publication.

A person once remonstrated with a descendant of this O'Ruarc on his extravagance, and, amongst other things, told him that he "Ought to have sense." "Sense," replied the indignant Milesian; "know that an O'Ruarc scorns to have sense."

Fearfleatha O'Gnimh, the author of "The Downfall of the Gael," was family ollamh of the O'Nials of Clannaboy, and he formed one of the train of the celebrated Seaghan an tiomair O'Neill, prince of Uladh, who visited the Court of Elizabeth in 1562. Camden describes O'Nial's appearance on that occasion, and tells us, "The Londoners marvelled much at the strange sight." He was attended by MacSuibne, the captain of his guard; MacGarraidh, his hereditary standard-bearer; O'Gallchobair, his marshall; O'Gnimh, his poet, and several other officers. The O'Gnimh continued hereditary poets of Tir Eoghain for a long period. In 1679 Lhuyd mentions the then bard of the name, from whom, he informs us, he acquired an ancient Irish writing.—*Stowe Cat.*, vol. i., p. 39. In O'Conor's "Dissertations" will be found an English prose translation of part of this poem. The original was

addressed principally to the native chieftains, whose tottering and degraded state and horrible persecutions during the time of Elizabeth are so powerfully portrayed. O'Gnim may be considered as the Tyrtaeus, not only of Ulad, but of Ireland. His poems, particularly this one, had no small influence in exciting O'Nial to carry fire and sword through the North, and rousing the ancient Irish nobility to arms against their oppressors in the other parts of the kingdom.

O'Maolconaire, whose fine poem, in the dialect of the Irish, addressed to the chieftain O'Ruarc of Breffni, is contained in Hardiman.

O'Cleirig of Dun-na-ngall, whose talents shone so conspicuously in the Iomarba, or "Contention of the Bards," about the year 1600.

O'Neachtain of Meath, a learned and highly gifted poet and miscellaneous writer.

Padraig O'Lionadain of the Feada in Ard Maca, a sweet lyric poet, who lived in the early part of the 18th century, and whose productions display considerable genius.

Colla MacSeagain of Mourne in Downe, a lyric poet and musician, author of some popular songs.

Art MacCoibdeig of the Feada in Ard-Macha, a lyric poet of distinction.

Padraig O'Briadan of Newgrange in Meath, author of several odes and excellent songs.

Seagan O'Coileain, a poet of the first rank, who lived to a recent period.

O'Cearbhallain (Carolan) seldom went to Ulad, and then only to the Maguirp of Tempo. The puritanical habits and anti-Irish feelings of the Scotch and English settlers in the North were but little calculated to conciliate the esteem of such a man as O'Cearbhallan. Ulster more than atoned for this by its patriotic spirit in 1792 and later. During one of these visits Colonel Maguirp contrived that he should be conveyed to Orgial, where the blind bard, Mac Cu Art, then resided. They were brought together without their knowledge. Mac Cú Art was considered the better poet, O'Cearbhallain the better musician. After playing for some time on their harps, O'Cearbhallain exclaimed, "Your music is soft and sweet, but untrue." On which the other promptly replied, "Even truth itself is sometimes bitter," alluding to his rival's performance, which, though correct, was not always sweet or pleasing to the ear. The bards soon recognised one another. On this occasion Mac Cú Art composed the "Failte," printed in Hardiman, and the excellent Northern poet, Padraig Ó Lionadain of the Feada in Ard macha, who came up to see O'Cearbhallain, wrote another pleasing poem to commemorate his visit to that part of Ireland.

Hardiman writes of the bards that "They repeat their poems in a style that, for its beauty and fine sentiments, has often struck me with amazement, for I have been many times obliged by many of these natural bards with the repetition of as sublime poems upon love, heroism, hospitality, battles, etc., as can be produced in any language. Homer and Virgil have laid the ground of their noble tissue upon the basis of historical facts, and the Irish poets *of our times* write in the very same strain. It is the genius of the people, and their language is susceptible of it more naturally than any other extant. There are numbers of them capable of composing extemporaneous eulogiums and poems of considerable length upon any subject, surprisingly elegant, and full of fine sentiments.

But their defence, even in the humblest hands, must prove triumphant. What was their crime? For, shame to humanity, in Ireland it was deemed a crime to love their country. What brought down on them the vengeance of the persecutor? Their invincible attachment to the ancient faith and to the ancient, though fallen, families of the land. If these be crimes, then we are guilty; if not, it is time to make reparation to the memory of these injured men, whose learning and genius would have been cherished and honoured and held in "devout reverence" in any country under heaven except their own.

How could Moore, when speaking of Ireland, be otherwise than poetical? How could he touch on such a subject without catching an added spirit of inspiration? Ours is, indeed, a country worth loving, worth struggling for—aye, worth dying for! Who can look on it with indifference? The land of the beautiful and the brave, the land of the minstrel, the saint, and the sage, the home of all that is lovely and endearing.

Green are her hills in richness glowing,
Fair are her fields and bright her bowers;
Gay streamlets thro' her glens are flowing,
The wild woods o'er her rocks are growing;
Wide spread her lakes amidst laughing flowers,—
Oh, where's the isle like this Isle of ours?

Royal Downshire Militia.

Extracts from Order Books, &c.

By Colonel Robert Hugh Wallace, C.B.,
Commanding 5th Royal Irish Rifles (South Down Militia).

(Continued from p. 28, vol. xiii.)

S before narrated, the Regimental Order book of the memorable year 1798, with many others, was burned, and the record of that most interesting period from such a source is lost.

The Royal Downshire was all through the Rebellion, and, no doubt, took part in many minor unrecorded fights.

I am much indebted to Edmond H. S. Nugent, of 12 South Eaton Place, London, S.W., for his kindness in going to the British Museum and copying the following. He is a member of that well-known County Down family which has for many centuries given distinguished soldiers to the army, in old days by its former name of Savage, and in the present continues to do so under its more recently adopted name.

It will be observed that no less than three Officers in the old Downshire Regiment in 1798 bore the name of Savage.

ROLL OF OFFICERS ROYAL DOWNSHIRE REGIMENT,

Extracted from "A List of the Officers of the several Regiments and Battalions of Militia, and of the several Regiments of Fencible Cavalry and Infantry upon the Establishment of Ireland, Dublin Castle, 1 Sept., 1798."

THE DOWNSHIRE (OR 9TH) REGIMENT (TWELVE COMPANIES).

Colonel—Arthur, Marquis of Downshire, 25 Apr., 1793.
Lt. Col.—Francis Earl of Annesley, 26 Ap., 1793.
Major—George Mathews, 26 Ap., 1793.
Captains—Francis Savage, 30 Ap., 1793.
Andrew Savage, 1 May, 1793.
Dav. Ham. Boyd, 3 May, 1793.
John Read, 16 Sept., 1795.
Andrew M. Trevor, 17 Sept., 1795.
Capt. Lieut.—Benjamin Nevin, 18 Sept., 1795.
Lieutenants—John Harrison, 26 Ap., 1793.
Wm. Martin, 3 May, 1793.
Robert Montgomery, 4 May, 1793.
David Boyd, 6 May, 1793.
Wm. Baillie, 8 May, 1793.
Henry Savage, 10 May, 1793.
John Crozier, 18 Sept., 1795.
Baptist Johnson, 19 Sept., 1795.
John Keown, 18 Dec., 1795.

Thos. Tippinge Smith, 9 May, 1793. Richard Featherstone, 20 Dec., 1796.
Leonard Dobbins, 11 June, 1795. William Frew, 7 Feb., 1795.
S. Martin, 19 Dec., 1795. Robert Bradford, 18 Dec., 1796.
W. W. Read, 21 Dec., 1795. David Lindsay, 20 Dec., 1796.
Clifford Trotter, 21 Dec., 1795. John Gordon, 22 Dec., 1796.

Chaplain—Holt Waring, 26 Apr., 1793.
Adjutant—John Harrison, 26 Apr., 1793.
Quartermaster—Wm. Martin, 16 Sept., 1796.
Surgeon—Benjamin Wilson, 1 Apr., 1797.
Mate—Leonard Dobbins, 26 Apr., 1793.
Agents—Stephen & Robert Wybrants, Esqrs., Rutland Square.

1798, 5 June. The Regiment was stationed at Ballinasloe, and on the 11th of the same month proceeded to Maryborough.

The Insurrection broke out on the 23rd of May, and in a Garrison Order it is directed

"In case of alarm or probability of attack, the cavalry bugle will sound, on which occasion every man is to turn out and to repair to his alarm post. The Commanding Officer of the Downshire will fix an alarm post."

Sir Charles Asgill was the General Officer in command at Kilkenny.

23 June. In the course of Saturday, 23rd June, several Loyalists from the mountains between Castlecomer and Leighlinbridge brought intelligence to the small garrison of the former place that the Rebels were advancing in that direction.

The same evening the garrison was reinforced by a troop of the 4th Dragoons, a company of the Waterford Militia from Doonane, a company of the Downshire, twenty of the Cullinagh infantry, and forty of the Cullinagh cavalry, so that the whole might consist of nearly 300, but being mostly cavalry, they were not at all calculated for that country, where the ground is much broken up with colliery pits. That night the Rebels slept at a place about five miles from Castlecomer, on a ridge of mountains near Leighlinbridge. The town of Castlecomer is contiguous to extensive collieries, and the men employed there were notoriously disaffected; the body of insurgents who were approaching had escaped from Wexford, and were making their way to that country in order to join the colliers, and then proceed to attack Kilkenny.

A bridge spans the river Dinin at Castlecomer, and on this bridge and in the main street the whole force was drawn out; and a reconnoitring party of 100 men was sent out about 4 a.m. on the 24th. There was a dense fog early on Sunday morning, and it was impossible to discern objects at twenty paces distance. At this hour the

Insurgents had arrived at a place called Curteen, three miles from Castlecomer, where they heard mass. Two miles further off they had prayers again, as it was the Feast of St. John. Had they pressed on under cover of the fog nothing could have saved the garrison. As it was, the reconnoitring party were fired upon before they saw the enemy.

At last the fog cleared away; the Royalists perceived their danger. 7,000 Rebels were in front and flank, with the main body in close

"The Big Marquis,"
ARTHUR WILLS BLUNDELL SANDYS TRUMBULL, K.P.,
4th Marquis of Downshire,
Colonel Royal South Down Regiment.
Died 1868.
In Hillsboro' Castle.]

column on the road; the wings (musketeers) extended right and left, the whole assuming the form of a crescent. An instant retreat was unavoidable by the road to Castlecomer, which was skirted for two miles by walls and plantations, already held by the Insurgents. The cavalry in their retreat rode down several of the infantry, the whole making up the main street. A few men, however, of the Downshire

and Waterford Regiments held the bridge, killed several Rebels, and gave the whole a check; and this gallant stand eventually saved the garrison, who were enabled to take post in some houses, and were eventually relieved by Gen. Sir Charles Asgill, who marched from Kilkenny with 900 men, principally made up of the Wicklow and Wexford Regiments, under Col. Hon. Howard and Lord Loftus, with some artillery and a party of the 9th Dragoons.

Sir Charles subsequently returned to Kilkenny without leaving a soldier in Castlecomer, whereupon the Insurgents again obtained possession of the town and looted it.

24 June. Four hundred men of the Royal Downshire, together with Capt. Poole, with the Ballyfin Yeomen Cavalry, and Capt. Gore, with the Maryborough corps, the whole under command of Major Matthews, of the Downshire, marched from Maryborough, by order of Gen. Sir Charles Asgill, for the purpose of co-operating with him in relieving Castlecomer. They proceeded towards the collieries of Castlecomer and Doonane, and on the road they saw Castlecomer on fire, after Sir Charles Asgill had retreated from it to Kilkenny. As soon as they arrived at Moyad they saw the Rebels in great force, under Father Murphy, on the high grounds above Doonane.

As it was late in the day, they resolved on retiring to Timahoe, and to attack them early next morning. Soon after they received an express from Sir Charles Asgill desiring them to return to Maryborough; but they answered by proposing to him to attack the Rebels next morning on the Doonane side, and that they would attack them on the road from Timahoe in the opposite direction. Sir Charles stated his troops were too fatigued to co-operate, but that they might themselves engage the Rebels should circumstances prove favourable for that purpose.

Early next day intelligence was brought in that the Insurgents had retreated to the bridge of Old Leighlin, and later on they proceeded to Gore's Bridge. The Downshire and Yeomen pursued, having sent expresses to Sir Charles of the movements of both parties, and informing him that they would attack at the earliest opportunity. About 12 o'clock at night they reached Leighlinbridge, and two hours after received orders from Sir Charles to meet him at Gore's Bridge. At five o'clock in the morning they instantly marched in pursuit, but soon after Major Matthews, having heard that the enemy had bent their course to the mountains, changed his route for the purpose of intercepting them.

After a march of three hours, they came in sight of the Rebels on Kilcomney Hill, near Gore's Bridge. The Downshire Battalion guns immediately opened fire, on which the enemy retired about a mile and a-half to reform their line. The Downshire and Yeomen followed in column, with the cannon in front and cavalry in rear. They had no sooner formed than they heard Sir Charles's cannon on the other side of the hill. After a few discharges of our artillery, the Rebels broke, and were pursued for six miles, with much slaughter.

The following is Sir Charles Asgill's *own* report:—

DUBLIN CASTLE, 27 *June*, 1798.

Extract of a letter received this day from Major-General Sir Charles Asgill, Bart., by Lord Viscount Castlereagh:—

"KILKENNY, 26 *June*, 1798.

"MY LORD,—Fearing the consequences that might result from allowing the Rebels who fled from Wexford to remain for any length of time in this country, I preferred attacking them with the troops I already had to waiting till a reinforcement arrived. My force amounted to eleven hundred men. The Rebels consisted of about five thousand. I attacked them this morning at six o'clock in their position on Kilconnell Hill, near Gore's Bridge, and soon defeated them. Their chief, called Murphy, a priest, and upwards of one thousand men were killed. Ten pieces of cannon, two swivels, their colours, and quantities of ammunition, arms, cattle, etc., were taken, and I have the pleasure to add that four soldiers who were made prisoners the day before, and doomed to suffer death, were fortunately released by our troops.

"Our loss consisted of only seven men killed and wounded. The remainder of the Rebels were pursued into the County of Wexford, where they dispersed in different directions.

"I feel particularly obliged to Major Mathews, of the Downshire Militia, who, at short notice and with great alacrity, marched with four hundred men of his regiment, and Captain Poole's, and the yeomanry corps of Maryborough, under the command of Captain Gore, to co-operate with me. Lord Loftus and Lieutenant-Colonel Rem, of the Wexford Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Howard and Lieutenant-Colonel Redcliffe, of the Wicklow, Major Donaldson, of the 9th Dragoons, who commanded the cavalry, as well as all the officers and privates, are entitled to my thanks for their spirited exertions. Nor can I withhold the praise which is so justly due to all the yeomanry corps employed on the occasion; and I also beg leave to mention my aide-de-camp, Captain Ogle, Lieutenant Higgins, of the 9th Dragoons, who has acted as my brigade major.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

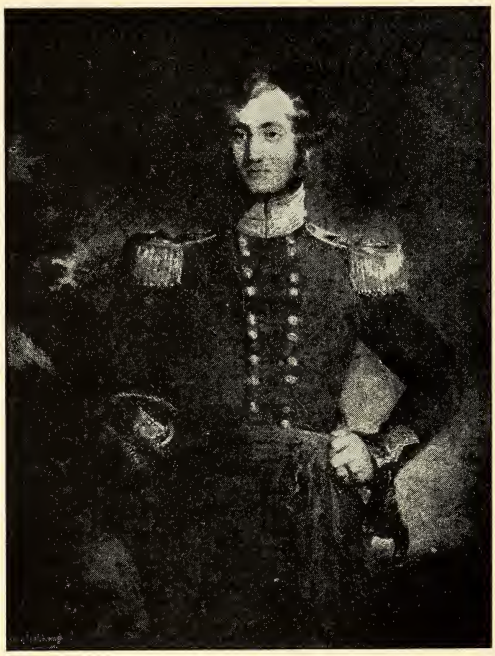
"C. ASGILL, *Major-General*."

Relief of Killala.

The Downshire formed part of the brigade of Major-General French at the relief of Killala on 23 September, 1798, which is thus described by Musgrave:—

"In its (Killala) defence about 4,000 Rebels took post behind a stone wall on a hill, which commanded the road leading to it, and on which the Downshire Regiment advanced. Though the Rebels maintained a constant fire on them from the time they first came in sight, the Downshire paid no regard to them till they arrived at a bridge which was but a short distance from them. They then began

a very heavy fire on the Rebels, who fled from their strong position and joined the main body, except about forty of them, who took post in a grove nearly forty yards from the palace, where some of them ranged themselves behind trees and others behind a stone wall. The Downshire pursued them, and were followed by the Fraser Fencibles and the Queen's County Militia. After about twenty minutes' resistance, the Rebels gave way, and were pursued into the town by the Roxborough Fencible Cavalry."



EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH,
Lt.-Col. Royal South Downshire Regiment. 1832.
In Hillsboro' Castle.]

Major-General French, in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant (Marquis Cornwallis) describing the action, dated 24th September, refers to having "derived much advantage from fifty men of the Downshire Regiment of Militia, trained by Major Matthews, as sharpshooters, and who, under his command, with a party of the Roxborough Light Dragoons, formed my advanced guard."

1799, 16 May. The Regiment was stationed at Portarlington, and evidently supplies of clothing were not plentiful, as "Major Matthews requests that Officers Commanding Companies will exert themselves to get the men's Pantaloons repaired, as well as our present situation will admit"

Companies appear to be numbered for the first time, as we find "Serjeant Divine, of the 3rd Company, is, by order of Colonel the Marquis of Downshire, reduced to the Ranks to serve as a Private, for prevaricating at a Regimental Court Martial." The power of a C.O. was evidently greater in 1799 than at present. 18 July. Carlow.

The only instance of promotion "by Brevet" that we come across is "His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant not having disapproved of the following promotion in the Royal Downshire Regiment of Militia, Lord Downshire appoints Lieut. James Harrison to be Captain by Brevet *(sic)*. Commission dated 14 July, 1799." Promotion by Brevet. 17 Aug.

There is no Brevet rank in the militia at the present time.

The disposition of Officers and the manner in which the Companies were numbered in this year are interesting:

Marquis of Downshire's 1st Co.	...	Capt. Lieut. Bailie. Ens. Dixon.
Lord Annesley's 2d Co.	...	Ens. Swan.
Major Matthews' 5th Co.	...	Lieut. Keown.
Capt. F. Savage's 7th Co.	...	Lieut. Harrison.
Capt. D. H. Boyd's 10th Co.	...	Lieut. Trotter.
Capt. Read's 6th Co.	...	Lieut. Crozier. Lieut. Gordon.
Capt. Trevor's 12th Co.	...	Lieut. Johnston. Ens. Martin.
Capt. Nevin's 4th Co.	...	Lieut. Frew. Ens. Smyth.
Capt. Martin's 3rd Co.	...	Lieut. Martin. Ens. Beatman.
Capt. D. Boyd's 9th Co.	...	Lieut. Read. Ens. Boyd.
Capt. Smyth's 11th Co.	...	Lieut. Bradford.

Capt. Henry Savage is appointed to the 8th, or Light Infantry Company.

No. 1, or Lord Downshire's, was presumably the Grenadier Co.

We have on this date the first notice of Riflemen so called. The Sharp Shooters have already been noticed. It would be interesting to know with what kind of "rifle" the men were armed. Riflemen 29 Aug., 1799.

"The 4th Co., with Detachments from the Rifell *(sic)* men 12th Compy., 10th Compy., to hold themselves in readiness to march to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock for Doonan, under the command of Capt. Read."

There were black sheep in the Downshire flock in these days, as we find from the following:—

R.O. CARLOW, 5 *Sept.*, '99.

Complaints having been made to the Commanding Officer of some of the Major's Company going out of their Barracks at night and robing *(sic)* guardins and orchards and annoying the inhabitants of that quarter. The men of that Company, who have liberty to work, are, in consequence of their scandalous and unsoldierlike behaviour, deprived of that liberty, and ordered immediately to their duty.

15 Oct. An officer was told off to go round barrack rooms at dinner hour and "report next morning, in writing, the number of men in each mess, and what they have for dinner."

The attention of the authorities appears to have again been occupied with the dress of the men, as, under order of same date, "The men to be immediately supplied with a hair tail each, and to have their hair tied every day with a nice squair club, formed with clubing irons, in the same manner that the Regt. wore them formerly. The Grenadiers to have their tails hair turned up in the same manner as at present."

Regimental Roses. This order seems very quaint. Perhaps it refers to cockades :— "All Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers to appear with Regimental Roses on Parades."

(Obverse.) *(Reverse.)*

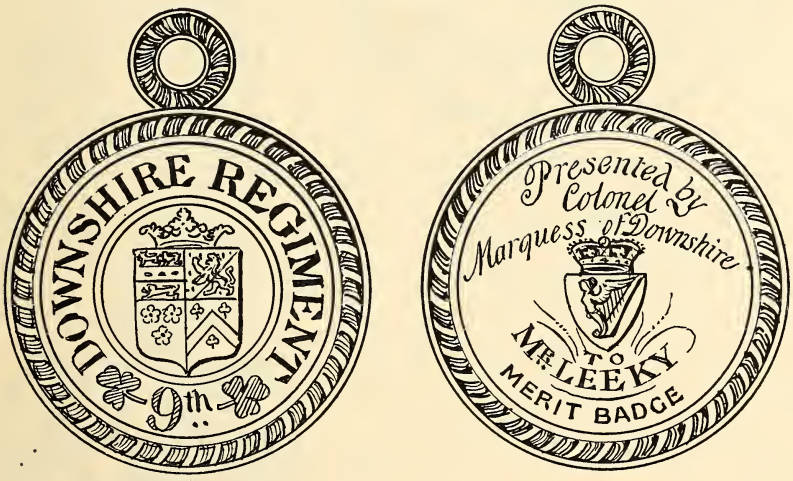
1.—SILVER MERIT BADGE (full size). *In possession of William Mayes, Belfast.*

Major Matthews was at this time in Hillsborough with a party of men for recruiting purposes. 31 Oct.

The Regimental Cap must have been regarded as a very precious article, as it was Lord Downshire's positive order that no Non-Comm. Officer or Soldier was on any account to take it away with him when proceeding on furlough. Regimental Cap. 23 Dec.

Two sergeants were ordered to attend the Potatoe Market at Carlow to prevent the men imposing on the country people, and to see that they waited till the market bell had rung before any attempt was made to purchase potatoes. 1800. 1 Feb.

This regiment was recently (up to 1881) known as the Royal County Down Regiment. It did not obtain that distinction, however, till the year 1812, as a reward for its gallant behaviour at the reduction of the island of Bourbon, and in 1793 the 86th was called General Cuyler's Shropshire Volunteers, and the title was changed to the 86th, or Royal Leinster Regiment of Foot, in 1806. There was only one County Down Regiment of Foot in 1794, and that was the Royal Downshire.



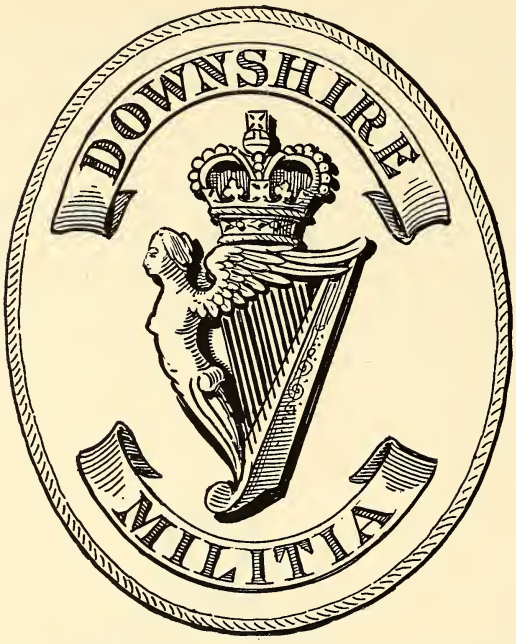
(Obverse.) *(Reverse.)*

2.—Silver Medal (full size). *From the collection of Robert Day, F.S.A., Cork.*

General Russell Manners was only one year Colonel of the 86th, when it was (1794) the Shropshire Volunteers. Whether the medal really given to a soldier in the 86th or of the Royal Downshire the coincidence is a remarkable one.

My thanks are tendered to Robert Day, F.S.A., who so kindly lent these old relics.

The habit of presenting medals and badges "for merit" or "for services" originated in the old Irish Volunteers, and as several of the former commanders in that force subsequently joined the Militia when re-organised in 1793, many of the customs of the old force were, doubtless, continued, which accounts for the recipients of the medals being styled "Mr.," which obtained in the Volunteers. The badges are beautifully hand-engraved, and I have in my collection another, presented by Lt.-Col. Earl Annesley to J. Forde, 1798. It also is silver, 2½ inches by 2, with a raised rope border. It bears Irish harp, crowned, surrounded by shamrocks, at base of harp 1798, and on the outer circle Downshire



OFFICER'S BREAST PLATE, GILDED. Silver applied work, deficient (full size).
Given to the writer by W. K. Fayle, Birr.

Regiment 9th. Reverse—Shield as in No. 1, but having G.R. in place of "9th," and the name of donor and recipient. The arms on the obverse side of No. 2 are those of the Downshire family.

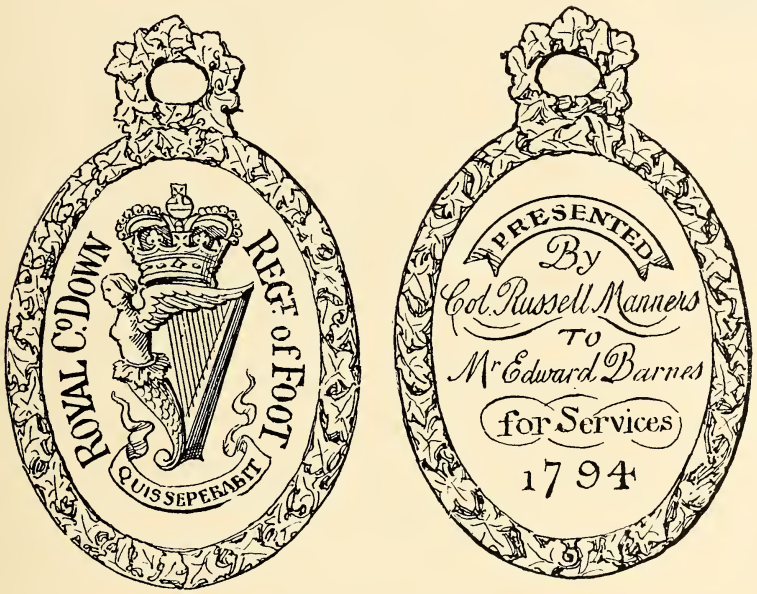
This medal bothered me for a long time, as I could find no trace of a Colonel Russell Manners connected with the Royal Downshire Regiment. Robert Day suggested Colonel Manners might have inspected the regiment, or been in some way associated with it, but I could not ascertain anything to

4.—BUTTON, SILVER-PLATED, 1802–15 (full size).
Given to writer by W. H. Patterson, M.R.I.A., Strandtown.

substantiate this theory. Subsequently, W. H. Patterson drew my attention to a copy of the Historical Records of the 86th Foot, and I find the name of Russell Manners, appointed colonel in 1794.

The 86th and the Royal Downshire were quartered in Cork together in 1794, and, therefore, Robert Day's theory may be correct.

On the other hand, in the list of officers of the 86th, the name of Edward Barnes appears in 1794 as lieutenant, which would seem to settle the matter as the 86th Foot.



5.—Silver Medal (full size). *From the collection of Robert Day, F.S.A., Cork.*

Souterrain at Leitrim,

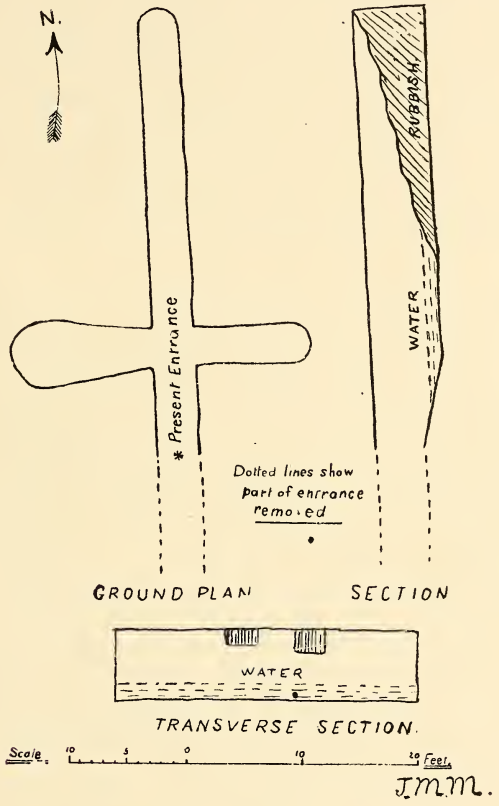
Parish of Drumgooland, County Down.

By J. M. Macrory.

THIS important pre-historic structure, which has hitherto been passed without notice or investigation, being almost unknown, even in the immediate vicinity, is situated on the farm of Benjamin T. Priestley, and lies about 3½ miles north-west of Castlewellan, and half a mile from Leitrim Railway Station, on the Great Northern new line. The main passage is 37¾ feet long, 3¼ feet wide, and 6 feet high. The right chamber, or transept, is 10 feet long, 3½ feet wide, and 6 feet high, and at entrance 3¼ feet wide and 4 feet high. The left chamber, or transept, is pear-shaped, and 12 feet long, 5 feet wide at most, and 6 feet high, and at entrance 3¼ feet wide and 5 feet high. From front entrance to the transepts it is 7½ feet long by 3½ wide and 4¼ high.

This Souterrain is in the form of a Latin cross, duly oriented. The entrance opens from the southern end of the main passage: about 10 feet of this part appears to have been removed. It is constructed in the usual way, the sides being rudely dry-built with granite boulders, which have been rounded by glacial and water action—a feature characteristic of almost all the surface boulders in the locality. The covering stones are large slabs, also of granite. The whole structure is intact throughout, with the exception of a few of the side stones, which have fallen in, about the centre of the main passage. On top of the side walls in places the usual projecting corbels show, thus reducing the length of the span. The floor of the cave is in large part under water, from one to two feet deep. Countless rainfalls have also deposited sand and loam on the floor, to an average depth of a couple of feet, this deposit being interspersed with boulders, which have been placed there as stepping-stones by parties visiting the place at various times. At the northern end of the main passage a large bank of soil has silted up to the very roof, so that measurements could not be completed until a quantity of the sand had been removed from the top. It is possible the cave may extend somewhat further in this

direction than stated, and that the original entrance may have been here, but certainty on these points could only be obtained by clearing out the whole fabric, a very arduous and expensive proceeding. It could be drained, however, with little difficulty, as it is on the top of a hill, and an ordinary field drain, three feet and a-half deep, with a length of about fourteen feet, would completely dry the place.



LEITRIM CROMLEAC.

This Souterrain possesses more than ordinary interest from the fact that, judging by its general rude construction, it appears to be of greater antiquity than the neighbouring one, the great Finnis Cave, which is only 3½ statute miles distant. Its orientation is also a striking feature. It need not, however, be assumed that the oriented plan was projected for religious ceremony or observatory (solar and

stellar) purposes. The peculiarity probably occurred more from accident than design, or was rather so formed to meet the exigencies of location.

From the site of this Souterrain, or, better still, from some of the adjacent mountain heights of the central highlands of Down, a most glorious prospect is spread before the gaze—an almost unequalled panorama. Here begins and stretches far away, in a south-westerly direction towards Newry, the greatest plain in the United Kingdom. Flanked on the south, and divided from the sea by the cloud-piercing Beanna-Boirche, Slieves Donard, Commedagh, Bearnagh, Mealmore, and Mealbeg in succession, with all the other elevations, great and small, which compose the Mourne range, brightened in many places by the water, in silvery webs, dashing down their rugged and precipitous sides, and sparkling in the summer sun. The scene, which also includes views of six or seven other Irish counties, Isle of Man, Irish Sea, and parts of England, is awe-inspiring in its grandeur; it is sublime.

This region of South Down, once part of the princely patrimony of the Magennis family, so far as the antiquary is concerned, is almost an untrodden field. Here abound rath and dun, cromleac and cistvaen, sculptured Celtic cross and pillar stone, cashel and crannoge, ruined castle and carn, souterrain and ancient burying-place—objects which fire the imagination and gladden the heart of the archæologist, arousing inspiration for a dreaming of the "dim and dateless past."

Here, amongst a people most obliging and courteous in manner, the belief in the power of blessings and maledictions, in apparitions and banshees, in fairies and witches, in myths and dreams, in spectres and spells, in charms and elf-shooting, and in good and bad luck, still obtains to a greater or less extent. Old faiths and customs or usages die hard in a community which has had an unlimited stock of wonderful traditions, handed down from generation to generation, from the far-off past, whose imagination pictures even natural occurrences, if at all out of the range of comprehension, as the work of some direct supernatural agency. The lover of things and ways of other days must in a large measure regret the passing of that indescribable charm associated with the folk-lore of a highly imaginative, interesting, and romantic people.

The Hovendens:

Foster Brothers of Aodh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster (Earl of Tireoghan).

By John J. Marshall.

(Continued from p. 12, vol. xiii.)

THE final issue was that O'Neill received a pardon, in which was included all the inhabitants of Tireon, his Secretary, Henry Hovenden, being personally named.[1] 1596, May 12th

The peace thus concluded imposed upon neither party, each of which proceeded steadily with preparations for renewing the struggle, and in this connection Henry Hovenden, whom the Lord Deputy and Council in a despatch describe as "the Earl's servant, a person most secret and of greatest trust with him," writes to O'Neill a characteristic letter in which he "advises him to be provided for the wars."[2] 1596, July.

Spies were plenty in those days, and freely used on both sides, accordingly a copy of this communication found its way to the English Government. Captain William Warren describes it as a "knavish letter written by Henry Hovenden," and the Lord Deputy, in sending on the document to the English Privy Council, describes it as a "copy of Henry Hovenden's letter to the Earl of Tireon, despatched either from Connacht when Hovenden was in company with O'Donnell (Aodh ruad), or else upon the breaking up of the late treaty there. Think worse of the letter in respect to the party writing it, who is a foster brother to the Earl, very secret and inward with him, a person very evil affected, a great stirrer up of the Earl to this rebellion, and who has continued with him in action from the beginning. Sir Edward Moore did not only discover this letter first, but also by his industry got it to be sent them after it was rent in many pieces by the Earl."

The occasion of the tearing up of this important letter is to be found in another despatch sent by Fenton to Burghley, wherein O'Neill is described as "sitting at supper at Castle Roe[3] rent Henry Hovenden's letter which laboured to prepare O'Neill for new troubles, and threw it under the table saying in Irish, "This shall never be seen more. A few days after this he took his pardon."[4]

[1] Cal. Pat. and Close Rolls, Elizth. [2] Cal. S.P.I.
[3] On the Bann near Coleraine, a place where he sometimes resided.
[4] Cal. S.P.I.

The aims and ideas of the English Government and O'Neill being so utterly opposed to each other, both sides were active during this interlude, and Captain James Fitzgarrett reported that "Nott, the Earl's Secretary, being a near kinsman, told him in great secret, that the Earl had been at Donegal, and then met O'Donnell, 'the Earl,' Henry Hovenden, and all the bishops and chief clergymen of the country. . . . The Secretary also made known to Fitzgarrett that Henry Hovenden had twenty cows given to him by the Earl, and twenty more by O'Donnell, for a reward for attending O'Donnell into Connacht," and there is little doubt but that the counsels of so able a man as Henry Hovenden helped to a large degree in shaping the policy that led to the recall and disgrace of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of that province.

The next occasion on which we meet the hand of Henry Hovenden in O'Neill's business is in two letters from a Government spy named Richard Weston, who reports that there came a packet of letters from the King of Scots to Tireon which required answer, "whereupon Henry Ovington (Hovenden) being sent (for), an answer was made and the messenger sent back again." There is also a marginal note: "Harry Ovington is a chief councillor to the Earl in all his secret business."[1]

1597, Oct. 31st, Nov. 6th

O'Neill needed a trusty councillor—as spies, both native and English, abounded to report his every action, as has already been shown by the conduct of Nott, another of his Secretaries; nor was O'Neill badly served in this respect himself, being usually kept accurately informed of all the English Government's movements and designs, and Spanish gold managed to penetrate as far as the Pale, or, it may be, to higher quarters. The year 1597 had dragged through, and O'Neill was as far from being conquered as ever. Ormonde had now been appointed Lieut.-General, and as he and O'Neill had formerly been on friendly terms it was thought that they might be able to come to an understanding where an Englishman would fail. Accordingly Ormonde, accompanied by Jones, Bishop of Meath, and Sir Geffrey Fenton, held a parley with O'Neill at Dundalk. O'Neill, using the talk of the age, was quite ready to acknowledge "upon the knees of his heart his late lapse and defection," which was all very well; but, when it came to drawing up the articles of agreement, it was quite another matter. The English Commissioners in the usual style would have O'Neill make submission and terms for himself alone, but O'Neill was too astute a diplomatist to be caught in that way, and he was iron to any other suggestion than that he should make peace both for himself and his allies, amongst whom he moved them to consider the Moores and Connors whose lands had been given to Undertakers. To this the English Commissioners replied that the lands were given by patent to Englishmen who possessed them. At this point it would be a pity to spoil a

1597, Dec. 20th

[1] Cal. S.P.I.

picturesque passage-at-arms by narrating it otherwise than as it appears in the State Papers. "Here Henry Ovington, one of Tireon's chief counsellors, and a pernicious traitor, replied, 'You have also granted patents of the county of Monaghan, and I think most of you in your own consciences do judge these lands were not well gotten. Why, then, may not these patents of lease be as well reversed as those of Monaghan." They answered that they knew of no purpose to reverse any patents, which are the public evidences whereby men hold all they have. And if patents be reversed, why may not the Earl of Tireon's patents be reversed?"

To such argument Henry Hovenden would not have far to seek for a reply, but O'Neill here intervened, and with that plausible tongue of his smoothed matters down somewhat. Hovenden, however, had planted his arrow in the gold at the first shot, as the trial and execution of Hugh Ruad MacMahon by Fitzwilliam was a gross outrage, and his attempted settlement of Monaghan on the lines of English policy proved abortive.

The result of this parley was that a truce of two months was arranged, and, in the negotiations that followed, O'Neill stood firm to his conditions; but private instructions had been sent to Ormonde to conclude a peace with O'Neill, even if he utterly refused personal submission or to give his sons as hostages.[1] A hollow peace was accordingly concluded that only lasted two months, and in an account of the negotiations leading up to it, Jones, Bishop of Meath, the same who married O'Neill and Mabel Bagenal, says—"Tireon said—'if all other things may be agreed upon there will be little sticking at these things,' and then desired that Sir Walter, and Sir James Butler might accompany him to his councillors, for none of them were present at the reading and debating upon Her Majesty's instructions but Henry Hovenden ('Harrie Ovington') whom Tireon would needs have present. . . . When Tireon took counsel with his followers most of them were sick of war and in favour of peace, saving Cormac, his brother, and Henry Hovenden (two bad members)."

1598, Mar. 22nd Dundalk

The English Commissioners feared that the influence of these two would prevent O'Neill completing his submission and conceding even those shadowy concessions which he did to save the English Government's face, and Jones further describes this interesting pair of Irish politicians of the Tudor period in phraseology which smacks of his profession. "Cormac, his brother, who is a rude man and of a cankered heart and disposition towards Her Majesty's Government, and against the English nation. And next unto him is Henry Hovenden, of Tireon's secret counsel by whom he is much guided."[2]

The peace thus made only served as a breathing space for each party to gather themselves together for a greater effort, and on the 14th August, 1598, the English Army for the relief of Blackwater Fort was disastrously defeated.

[1] Cal. S.P.I, 1597, p. 493. [2] Cal. S.P.I.

This victory placed O'Neill in the position of dictator to the greater part of Ireland, and so great was O'Neill's reputation abroad that the King of Spain is said to have stayed all Irish ships without O'Neill's pass. Matters were going on from bad to worse for the English Government when Elizabeth sent over her favourite, the Earl of Essex, as Lord Lieutenant in 1599.

Instead of striking first at the root of the rebellion in the North, Essex chose to squander his well equipped army in Munster. Meantime O'Neill was encouraging the Leinster and Munster chiefs to cut off and harry the English forces, and hold allegiance to him as virtual King of Ireland. It was in the carrying out of this policy that "Hovenden, an Englishman, but a papistical traitor, took Donnell's son,[1] and carried him to the Earl of Tyrone, with the consent of his father as a pledge of fidelity to the Earl. It was then blazoned abroad that the son was stolen against Donnell's will, and that the State might be assured of his loyalty and subjection."

Essex's method of reducing Ireland to subjection was far from satisfactory to the Queen, and it was only by the peremptory orders of Elizabeth that towards the end of August, after he had received reinforcements, that he ventured to march northwards to measure swords with Tyrone. When the armies came in sight of each other on the banks of the Lagan, O'Neill, instead of fighting, desired a parley, which took place at the Ford of
1599, Sept. 7th Bellaclinthe.[2] After a private interview between Tyrone and Essex, they had a second with six present on either side, and amongst those present on Tyrone's part were Henry Hovenden and Cormac MacBaron. The Lord Lieutenant continued his march to Drumcondra, but left Commissioners to conclude an arrangement. Amongst the Commissioners on the Lord Lieutenant's behalf was Sir. Henry Wotton, afterwards ambassador at Venice, who was chosen as the fittest person 'to counterpoise the sharpness of Henry Ovington's wit.' Dymok says of him, "he was O'Neill's chiefest councillor without whom he deliberated no matter of moment." The result was a cessation of arms for six weeks to six weeks until May, terminable on either side on fourteen days' notice. Thus was another of England's Governors outgeneralled and outwitted by O'Neill, with the result that Essex lost his head, and Elizabeth gained a remorse that only ended with her life.

Essex deserted his post in September, and Mountjoy, the new Lord Deputy, did not arrive till the 26th February, 1600. Meantime, David Hetherington, of Ballinrone, Queen's County, in a declaration to Lord
1600, Jany. 6th Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer, states that "about two or three days before he came now last out of Dublin, which as he now remembereth was about Tuesday five or six weeks last past, he the said David walking in the Castle

[1] Donnell Kavanagh, chief of clan Kavanagh, called Donnell Spaniagh because when a boy he waited upon Stuckly into Spain. Cal. S.P.I.

[2] Now Anaghclart Bridge on the river Lagan, where it forms the boundary between Louth and Monaghan.

of Dublin, and talking there with one Piers Ovington, of Tankerstone, of the Queen's County, touching the state of Ireland, then (he the said Piers being brother to that Ovington who is in Tyrone in rebellion, but yet as the said David H. verily believeth, is a very faithful subject to Her Majesty, and one that hateth and abhorreth his brother for his treason) he the said Piers Ovington did then declare to the said D. H. during their said speech and communication in the Castle yard, as aforesaid, that the speech of the Kern of Brenny was very foul and odious touching my Lord Essex, if their speech should be true, as namely, that he was their friend and should be King of Ireland." [1]

This report throws an interesting light upon the position occupied by Essex in the estimation of the common people of Ireland, and there can be no doubt that Hetherington's opinion was correct regarding Hovenden's loyalty.

This Peter, or Piers Hovenden, was the second son of Giles Hovenden, and also held the rank of Captain, as shown by two dockets with warrants, dated 26th February, 1587, one for Captain Piers Hovenden, £128 8s. 11d. ster., the other for Captain Richard Hovenden, £126 8s. 11d. ster.[2] Captain Piers resided at Tankardstown Castle, Queen's County, and possessed advowsons, titles and lands in King's and Queen's Counties, and in Counties Kildare, Roscommon, Meath, Down, Tipperary, and Louth. He married Anne, sister of Sir Alexander Brett, and died 19th February, 1613.[3]

Mountjoy, the new Lord Deputy, was a man of great ability and foresight, and, as soon as he took up the reins of office, proceeded systematically with the plan of campaign which was to bridle the rebellious chieftains, by planting permanent garrisons in their respective territories; and one of the principal of these was placed on the shores of Lough Foyle, to act as a check upon both O'Neill and O'Donnell. Next to Red Hugh himself, the ablest of his lieutenants was Niall Garve O'Donnell, who was also married to his sister; but notwithstanding his relationship and allegiance he was anxious to obtain the chieftainship. Accordingly he went over to the English, and was promised a grant of Tyrconnell as soon as his brother-in-law had been expelled. The first actual service required by his new allies was the capture of Lifford, which, with the men lent to him for the purpose, he effected without difficulty; and here another English garrison was planted. His three brothers also went over with him, and one of them, with part of the garrison of Lifford, made a raid twelve miles into Tyrone, "and there took the goods of Harry Ovington, foster brother to Tyrone, to the number of five hundred cows (and) some horses, and killed man woman and child." In addition to the official despatch, in which no mention is made of Henry Hovenden personally, some of the busybodies, writing to the Government, reported that

1600, Nov. 15

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Cal. S.P.I. [3] Burke's *Irish Landed Gentry, 1904.*

he had been killed, and his head brought by Niall Garve to Sir Henry Docwra, Governor of Derry. Hovenden must have been absent on this occasion with O'Neill, or on his business, and one at least of his family was in a place of safety, as he had sent his son along with O'Neill's second son as a pledge into Spain in the Spring of the year.[1] The raiders were followed by his old friend, and companion-in-arms, Cormac Mac Baron, the Earl's brother, who overtook them, "but durst not fight them, so they brought their prey to Lifford quietly, notwithstanding that O'Donnell lay with his forces within their rescue."[2]

There is not the least probability that O'Donnell was aware of this attack upon the property of his ally, for Red Hugh was the last man in Ireland to stand idly looking on at such a juncture, and Hovenden and he had been much together both in Council and on foray; therefore, had he only known what was going on over the border in Tyrone, "the part of the garrison of the Liffer" would have had a different tale to tell. However, the star of victory that had so long shed its beams upon O'Neill and O'Donnell was now sheding its light upon their adversaries; their power was on the wane, and Mountjoy was gradually but relentlessly reducing the country to subjection. The battle of Kinsale was fatal to the power of the northern chiefs, driving O'Donnell from his native land and destroying O'Neill's power to act on the offensive. This was followed up by the planting of numerous garrisons throughout Ulster, and systematically ravaging the country. It was in the course of assisting to carry out this policy that Sir Henry Docwra advertised Mountjoy, "that he had razed Henry Ovington's Castle, and McHugh's Island, which both had been nests and starting holes for thieves."[3]

Mountjoy had now done his work, and the rebellion was quenched in blood and ashes. Ireland might not be appeased, but she was certainly reduced, and no longer able to resist. O'Neill at last made his submission, and in the general pardon passed to him, under the seal of James I., was
1603, May 26th included Henry Hovenden.[4]

Received at Court, sent back with honour to his own country, it might be thought that Tyrone would now be left at peace, but this was not to be, and a system of petty persecution and annoyance, culminating in the report that he was implicated in a fresh conspiracy, finally caused him, in company with Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, to fly from Ireland. In this "Flight of the Earls," as it is usually termed, amongst the small number of persons
1607, Sept. 14th who accompanied them was the faithful Hovenden, who followed the fortunes of O'Neill from France to Brussells. From this place Sir Thomas Edmonds,
1607, Nov. 4th who was the English representative at the Court of the Archduke Albert, wrote to Salisbury, "Henry Ovington has also in like manner protested to

[1] Cal. S.P.I. April 26th. [2] Cal. S.P.I. [3] Fyne's Moryson II., 284-5.
[4] Cal. Pat. Rolls Jac. I.

him that he had no manner of knowledge of this resolution of the Earl's, till the night before his departure, being surprised by that short warning and precipitated into the journey, whereof he now repents; and that he should be glad to return if he hoped he might recover his means and the favour of the State. Others have also reported how he in like manner bemoaned himself unto them."[1] It is small wonder that Henry Hovenden felt uncomfortable, for the English influence was on the Continent everywhere used against O'Neill and his followers, and both France and the Netherlands were glad to see him moving on. At a later date he sent another letter to Edmonds, which is now lost, but Edmonds states in his covering despatch that "it appears how glad he would be to regain his country. Understands in many ways that he is nothing so much trusted by Tyrone as heretofore he has been."

Now, regarding how matters stood with O'Neill and his followers, Edmonds could speak with certain knowledge, as Brussels contained a number of spies of the English Government, amongst which there were at least two of those who accompanied O'Neill and O'Donnell in their flight. I regret having been unable to find any trace of Hovenden's return to his native land, or of any pardon having been passed to him. In fact, it would seem as if he had not, for he is returned amongst the forfeiting proprietors, and three years later Sir Toby Caulfield, in his account of Tyrone's rents, &c., has the following entry:—

1610, Dec. 18th. "To Henry Hovenden's wife and children at school, all her husband's goods for which paid only 20 marks sterling, the whole being valued at £40 14 0 sterling, and before charged, so she is thereby allowed the said goods by virtue of a concordatum dated 24th September 1609, which is her
allowed the sum of
sterling £27 6 4 Irish [2].

Clearly the wife and children of Henry Hovenden were far from being in affluent circumstances at this time. His son, Robert Hovenden, had a Plantation Grant of 140 acres in the Barony of Dungannon, now in the parish of Pomeroy. He was married to the widow of Turlogh Oge O'Neill[3] prior to December, 1613. In 1614 he is styled "of Kenarde," and in 1627 his name occurs in a "List of Commissioners to the Counties of Ireland, presumably for raising moneys for the Army." He is in the County Armagh list, and appears in such good company as the Lord Primate, Lord Caulfield, &c.[4]

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Cal. S.P.I.

[3] Turlogh Oge was eldest son and heir to Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, of Kenard (now Caledon, Co. Tyrone). Both father and son were slain when assisting to put down the rising of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty in Donegal, 20th June, 1608. Sir Henry married the daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone; and his son Turlogh married Cathleen Ny Neill, daughter of Henry O'Neill, and niece of Sir Turlogh O'Neill of the Jews.

[4] Cal. S.P.I.

In 1628 he held four townlands in Tynan under Y^e^ See. His stepson, Sir Phelim, assigned to him the lands of Ballinametagh, &c. (now Woodpark, near Tynan, Co. Armagh).[1]

By her first husband Cathleen Ny Neill had Sir Phelim, who afterwards became the leader of the rebellion of 1641, and Turlogh, who also took a prominent part in Northern affairs. By Robert Hovenden, her second husband, she had Henry, who died 163—; tombstone in Tynan churchyard, last figure undecipherable. The reckless extravagance of Sir Phelim O'Neill involved his stepfather, Robert Hovenden, as we find him, along with others, before the Mayor and Constable of the town of Drogheda, acknowledging a statute of the staple for the payment of £2,000 to Alderman Parkhurst, and that he was put in possession of the lands of Aghenis (near Caledon, Co.

1633, April 26th Tyrone), in which transaction Henry Hovenden, son and heir of Robert Hovenden, joined with his father in alienating these lands.[2] Robert Hovenden came into possession of them through his wife, who had a grant which included this territory.

Robert Hovenden died on the last day of May, 1641, and thus was spared seeing the horrors of the rebellion. His wife, according to Dr. Maxwell's Deposition, was the "British chief and best friend amongst the rebels; she preserved twenty-four English and Scots in her own house and fed them for thirty-seven weeks out of her own store, and when her children took her away upon the approach of an army, she left both them and this deponent to their liberty, and gave them free leave to escape."

During this summer Munro collected a large army with the intention of

1664, Aug. 15th completely crushing the rebel forces in Ulster, and while lying at Armagh, a party, who had been out in the direction of Caledon, "fell upon the rere of O'Neill's Creaghts and carried off Cathleen Hovenden. They brought her with them together with the horses loaded with baggage."[3]

Where she resided during the remainder of the rebellion we have no information, but she was alive in 1661, as at that time it appears by an Inquisition held at Armagh that she claimed jointure from the lands of Kilcano, &c. County Armagh, formerly Sir Phelim's, and which were then in possession of Maurice Thompson, an adventurer, who had also Turlogh's

1661, June 20th lands, amounting to 1041 Irish acres profitable land.

When,

> "The Red O'Neill his standard raised, and summoned all his men,
> And kerns and gallowglasses poured from every mountain glen,"

Alexander, the second and surviving son of Robert and Cathleen Hovenden, joined his half-brother, Sir Phelim, in the rebellion, and had the rank of captain. According to Dr. Maxwell's testimony, he was of a most humane disposition, having convoyed several parties of English to places of safety, and

[1] Bishop Reeves' MSS. notes quoted *Memorials of the Dead.*
[2] History of two Ulster Manors, pp. 19-21. [3] O'Mellan's Journal.

never had his hand in blood out of battle. This is quite credible, but when he states that he was desirous to submit himself to the King's mercy upon Lord Montgomery's protection, offering to root out the bloody sept of the O'Hughs,[1] with his own followers, the statement looks a little more doubtful, as in an information which he makes eleven months later, he says, that 'notwithstanding the moderation pretended by Alexander Hovenden and the many real favours done by him to many of the British, and in particular to Maxwell himself, yet he hath many times heard him say and swear that he wished all those damned, body and soul, who were against them in this cause,' which does not look very like going over to the other side. 1643, July 2nd

1644, Sept. 15th. In an affair of outposts between the army of Munro lying at Armagh, and that under Castlehaven and Owen Roe at Charlemont, Alexander Hovenden was slain between Knocknacloy Lough and the Oona-Water, about three miles from Benburb. Somewhere about the present Battleford bridge, on the river Blackwater, three troops of O'Neill's horse had been posted to prevent Munro's troops from spoiling the country on the Dungannon side to the north; and it was in the attack upon this post that Captain Charles Hovenden and two of the O'Neills, with some of Owen Roe's horsemen, were killed. Lieutenant Colonel Fennel, with a strong squadron of Castlehaven's dragoons, remained apathetic spectators of the attack, and flatly refused to relieve them, to the great indignation of Owen Roe, who was extremely grieved and annoyed at the loss of his kinsmen.[2] Alexander Hovenden was in his twenty-fourth year at the time of his death.

The following extract from O'Hanlon's *History of Queen's County*, at present going through the Press, under the editorship of Rev. Edward O'Leary, P.P., is not only interesting in itself, but also shows that Owen Roe, by his lenient treatment of Hovenden, under great provocation, recognised the old connection that existed between their families :—

"Not more than three or four miles from Athy lived one Thomas Oge Hovenden, in his castle of Ballylehane. He, with his son and followers, had many bickerings with Owen Roe's garrisons, and, among other things, they had carried away Henry Roe O'Neill's plough oxen, which put a stop to his tillage. The General had been very considerate towards that gentleman and his family, and had greatly obliged them, but now he found that, in the time of his greatest need, Ovenden was prepared to treat himself and his son as enemies. Wherefore, the General sent a letter, commanding Ovenden that, on sight of it, he should repair to the camp, and answer such charges as would be preferred against him. Moreover, he was assured of safe conduct coming from and returning to his Castle of Ballylehane. 1648.

[1] *O'Hugh, or Hughes.*—This sept was located in and around Kenard (Caledon), and it was an O'Hugh, foster brother to Sir Phelim O'Neill, who shot Lord Caulfield as he was entering Caledon Castle, the residence of Sir Phelim.

[2] Carte. O'Mellan's Narrative.

"Having three score well-appointed musketeers to defend the fort, and over-confident in its impregnability, Ovenden bid defiance to O'Neill, and refused his summons. Whereupon, the General commanded his Major-General, Hugh O'Neill, to march, with his two regiments of infantry, against the Castle, and, when in sight of it, to threaten Ovenden with its entire destruction, if he did not yield to the terms imposed—namely, to allow one-half of the garrison to be soldiers of O'Neill, while the other half should belong to the Castellan, so that no molestation of O'Neill's garrison in Leix should afterwards take place. On such condition, Mr. Ovenden's goods and lands were to be unmolested. According to orders, the Major-General had an interview with Mr. Ovenden, who peremptorily answered, that he would admit none of the General's men into the Castle. As a safe return was promised Mr. Ovenden, the Major accompanied him back to the very door of his Castle. When Ovenden had entered it, the Major told him to make the door secure and fast as he could, for in an hour afterwards he should not be able to do so. As the defenders had given the word of no surrender, the assailants advanced, and set fire to a great house, which stood near the Castle. Under cover of the smoke, some musketeers moved forward, and soon drove the garrison from the battlements and windows. Immediately fire was set to the Castle door, notwithstanding the strong defensive iron gate wherewith it was guarded. Soon the defenders began to cry for quarter, and their lives were spared. In less than an hour the besiegers were in possession of the Castle, but with four or five men killed on their side and six wounded. On entering, the assailants found the stronghold well supplied with arms, ammunition, brass, corn, and malt, while £3,000 worth of money and plate was secured. Nevertheless, not a man, woman, or child found there received any injury, but they were all dismissed, except Ovenden himself, who was sent as a prisoner to Athy Castle. There he continued for a quarter of a year, until he had paid a ransom. His goods were confiscated and a garrison placed in his house by the Irish, after which General O'Neill marched towards Castlecomer, in the barony of Idough, County of Kilkenny."[1]

In the Inquisition sped at Armagh—which records the death of Robert Hovenden on the last day of May, 1641—it is also stated that "Henry Hovenden his nephew was then two years of age, and *unmarried*." This Henry Hovenden is probably the son of the Henry Hovenden who is returned in a "List of the Forfeiting Proprietors," in 1656, the Inquisition being held 20th June, 1661.

1688, Oct. 9th

During the reign of James II. the fortunes of the Northern Hovendens again looked up, Walter Hovenden being nominated one of the new Burgesses for Armagh, and in conjunction with Arthur Brownlow, represented the county in The Parliament of 1689. He was also a Deputy Lieutenant for the

[1] *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, 1641–52. Pt. 1. 246–7.

County. There was also a Walter Hovenden whom Bishop Reeves notes as holding Lishae in 1644, and styled Captain. He had a son, Charles.

Captain Hovenden was one of those who, along with Mac Kenna (chief of Truagh, in county Monaghan), were to seize upon Charles Lesly, John Knox, and Captain Johnston, raise Truagh, and hold Glasslough Church. These instructions were contained in a letter in cypher to McKenna, sent from Drogheda, and signed—Father Garland, Father Daly. This letter was intercepted by Sir Nicholas Atchison, and sent by him to Lesly, who translated it.[1] 1688, Dec. 26th

This was the last flicker of the expiring candle, after which the northern branch of the Hovenden family disappear from history, as their active service for James II. would secure, under the Williamite government, the confiscation of whatever remnant of their property they might have managed to preserve under Cromwell's rule.

The southern branch, for the time being more fortunate, took root and flourished, and became known as one of the *Seven Tribes of Leix*,[2] as the seven most influential families in this territory were termed, but from these, too, their possessions have passed away. A small portion of the old Hovenden Castle at Ballylehane is still standing, with sculptured arms on the gateposts, a memento of days gone by, when broad lands were theirs and the whisper of one of their number moulded the policy of the most striking figure in the Ireland of his day.

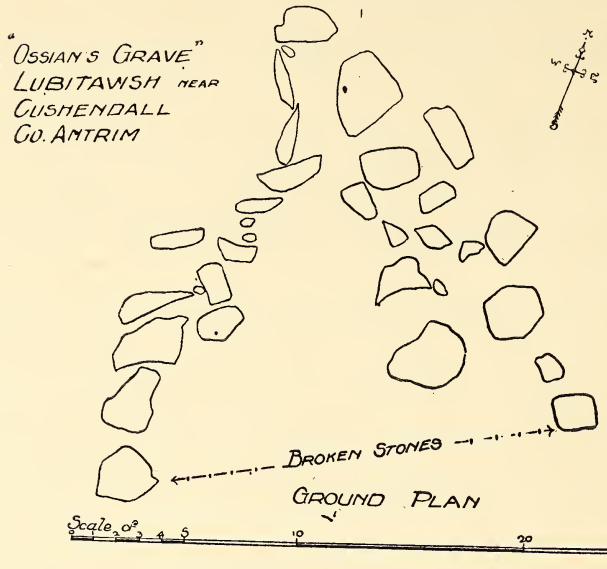
I have to express my thanks for replies and assistance in compiling this sketch of the Hovenden family, to Rev. Edward O'Leary, P.P., Portarlington, editor of O'Hanlon's *History of Queen's County*, and Robert Hovenden Esq., Croydon, Surrey.

[1] McCarmick's Actions of the Inniskilling Men.

[2] Lewis Topog. Dict. of Ireland. *Art* Queen's Co.

Some Rude Stone Monuments in Antrim and Down.

Measured and Drawn by Mary and Florence Hobson.

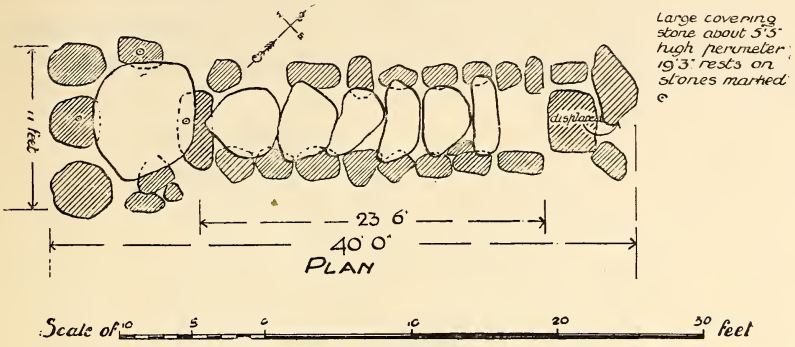


Although all the monuments mentioned in this article are well known, it may be of interest to readers of this Journal to have measured drawings of them.

Ossian's Grave, Lubitavish, Cushendall.

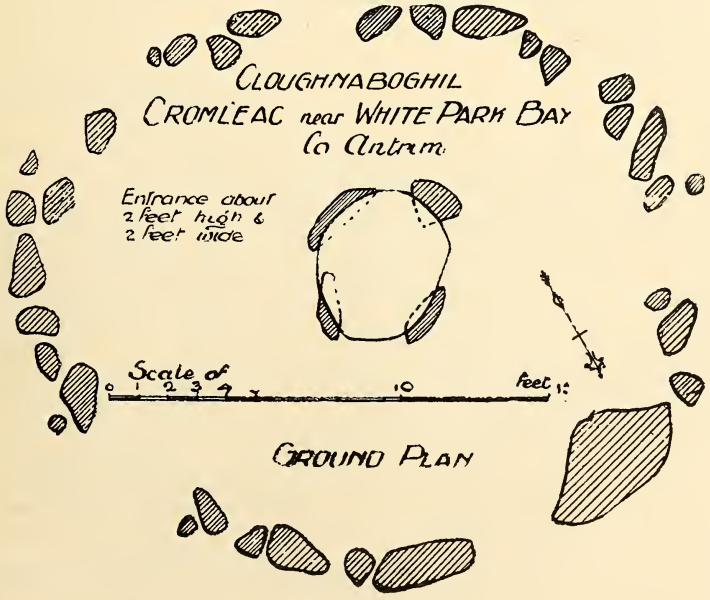
Ossian's Grave, near Cushendall.
(Photo by William Gray.)

At Lubitavish, near Cushendall, County Antrim, is a stone monument of over thirty stones, commonly known as "Ossian's Grave."



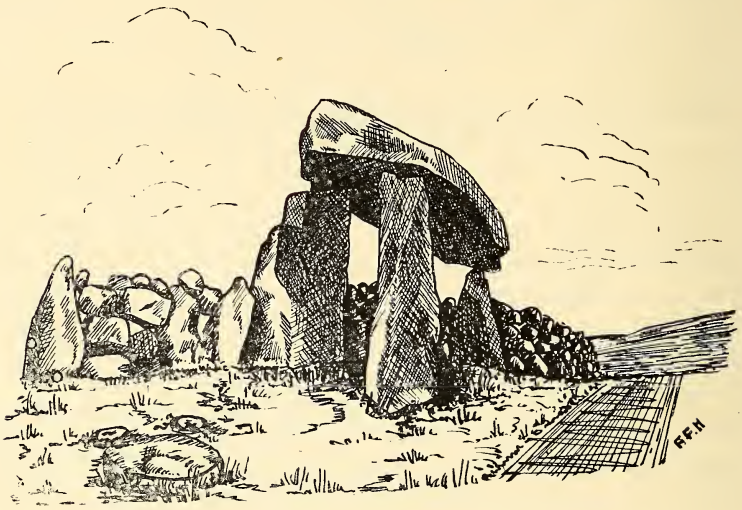
CARN GRAINE, CO. ANTRIM.

At Carn Graine, in the Parish of Templepatrick, County Antrim, is an imposing structure 40 feet in length. The N.E. end is broken. In 1838 the writer of the "Ordnance Memoir" says:—"Within the memory of some old people this temple was enclosed by two circles of standing stones, which were from 2 to 3 ft. high; the inner circle was about 35 yds. and the outer one 60 yds. in diameter. The stones were at some distance from each other. It is about 50 years [before 1838] since these stones were destroyed, but since that period the temple has not undergone any change." Monuments of a similar class are frequently called "Beds of Diarmuid and Graine."



Cloughnaboghil (the Stone of the Boy), opposite the centre of White Park Bay, County Antrim, is within a short distance of the public road. It consists of four stones and a covering stone; inside chamber about 5 ft. 5 in. long; height to top of cap-stone only about 3 ft. The cromleac is surrounded by a circle of smaller stones, the whole so much overgrown that many of the latter are practically lost.

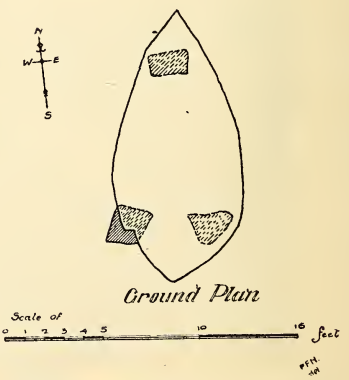
·LEGANANNY·
·CROMLEAC



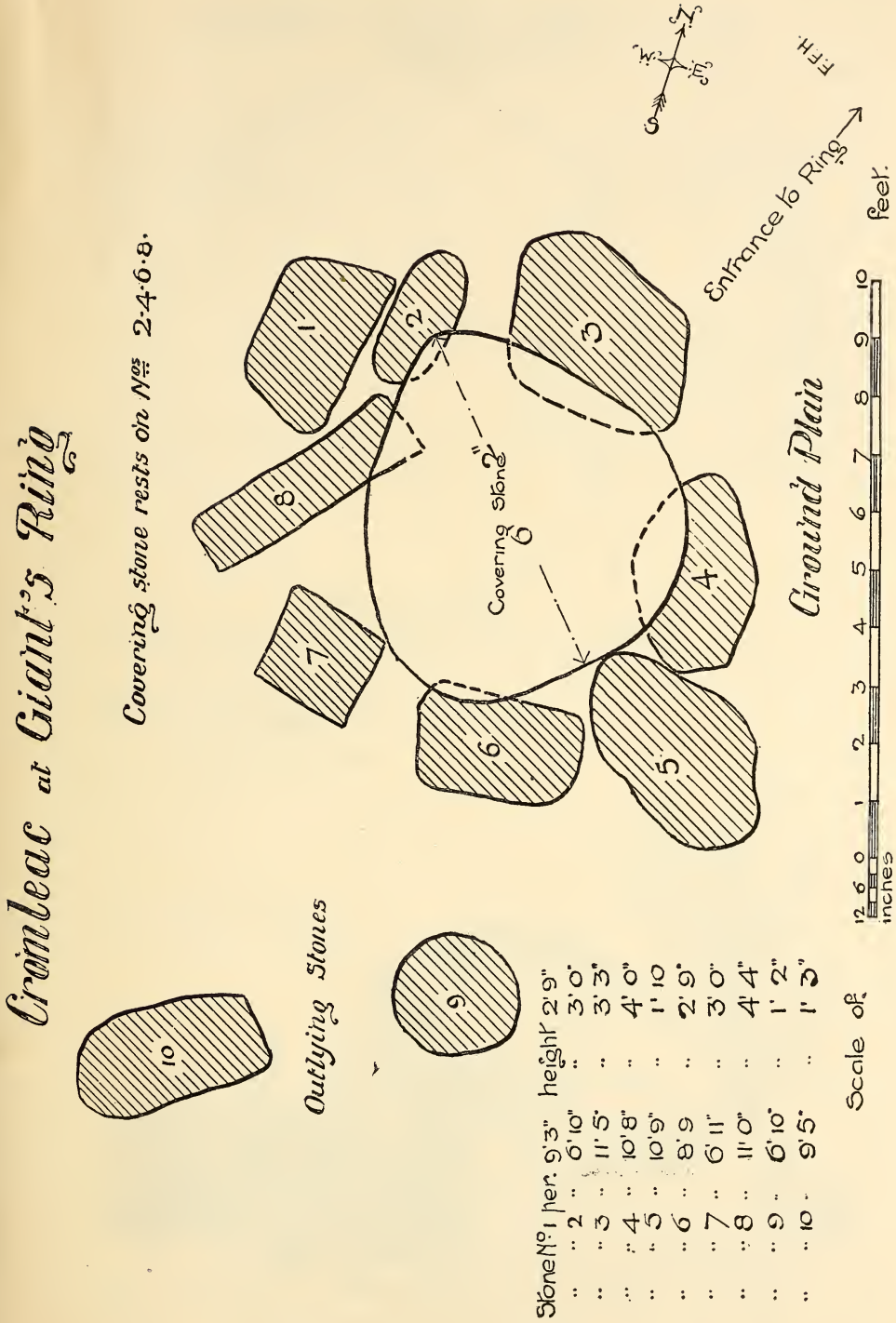
CROMLEAC, ON SLIEVE CROOB, CO. DOWN.

Legananny Cromleac, one of the most remarkable structures in County Down, is placed on a spur of Slieve Croob, near the sources of the River Lagan. It consists of three upright stones. The two in the foreground (S. end) are $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and the other one 5 ft. The covering stone is coffin-shaped, and is of granite, 11 ft. long, 5 ft. at widest part, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick.

LEGANANNY CROMLEAC
Co. Down.



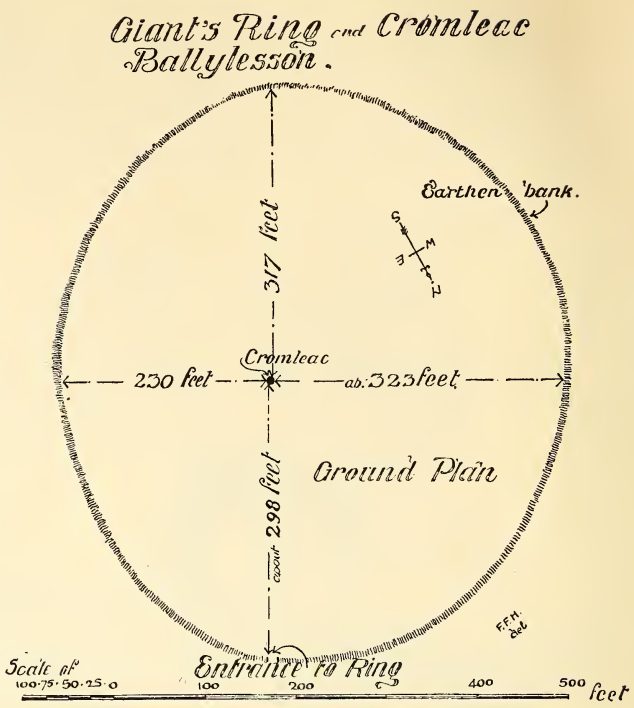
CROMLEAC, ON SLIEVE CROOB, CO. DOWN.



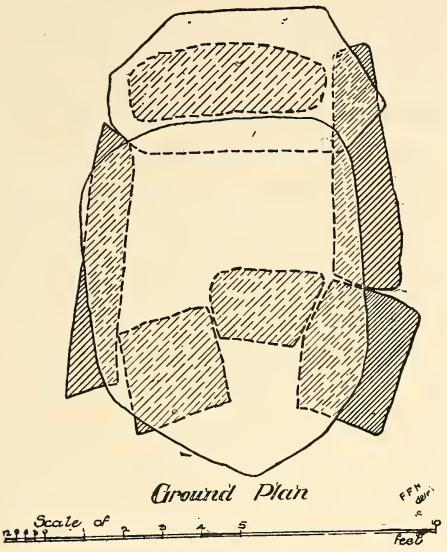
GIANT'S RING, NEAR BELFAST.

The "Giant's Ring," Ballylesson, County Down, is a very large, circular earthwork, said to be one of the largest in Ireland.

In almost the centre is the Cromleac, consisting of eight stones and the great covering stone, formerly surrounded by a stone circle.



The Kempe Stone
Dundonald



At Dundonald, County Down, is what is known as the "Kempe Stone,'" in the townland of Greengraves. The side stones are placed on edge, the remaining ones upright, so forming a chamber, into which it is considered extremely lucky to cast small stones, accompanied by a wish. The supporting stones are six in number, and the cap-stone is estimated to weigh about 17 tons.

A longer account of each monument might have been given, but they have been so frequently described that it is only as notes to accompany the measured drawings that we append even these.

The Whites of Dufferin, and their Connections.

By Major R. G. Berry, M.R.I.A.

(Continued from p. 174, vol. xii.)

THE whole of Lecale and the Ardes had belonged to the Savages, "in whose ofspring, which at this time holde it," so says Sir Thomas's tract, "save the name, remayneth nothing English." The said offspring, Sir Rowland Savage (Lord Savage, and chief of his nation, as he styles himself), being advanced in years when Thomas Smith arrived with his soldiery, the old chieftain did not quit the Ardes, which had been the property of his family since the days

of De Courcy, but remained at home, and was thereby enabled to help his son, Ferdorough, who appears to have, from policy, joined the new settlers. Trouble now breaks out, and, on the 14th of October, Malbie writes a letter from Downpatrick to the Lord Deputy, in which he states that "Sir Brian MacFelim has taken all the prey and fired the towns. Henry Savage is slain by his special appointment, and the Abbey of the Newtown, Bangor, Mevile, Hollywood, &c., burned. On Friday, Sir Brian and Turlough Lynagh will meet at Dundrum, and proceed to hunt Malbie"; and less than a week later, on the 19th, we learn that Turlough Lynagh had been and gone, returning out of Clanaboy with pledges, no doubt, amongst others, from the Whites, who must have shown favour to Smith, as the castle to which he retired at Ringhaddy was one of theirs. On the 26th of October the Lord Deputy reports that Marshal and Malbie have received letters from Sir Brian MacFelim pretending penitence; and, on the 28th, Nicholas Malbie reports from Down, in Lecale, to Burghley that, at Smith's coming, Sir B. MacFelim joined Turlough Lynagh and the Scots, and entered the Ardes, burning and spoiling. Malbie having drawn from him Neill MacBrian Fartagh, whose father was Lord of Clanaboy, he seeks pardon from the Deputy and peace with Smith.

Under these prospects of success, Smyth began fortifying the New Castle in the Ardes, which was subsequently known as Smith's Castle; and from there, on 28 October, 1572, he writes to Burghley, saying that Sir Brian MacFelim sues for peace, and he has good hope of success. Captain Malbie's credit with the Irish, and the fear of his 100 horse, have alone brought this to conclusion. His father also addressed a letter to the Lord Deputy, setting forth the necessity for planting colonies in Ireland, which are not intended to destroy the Irish race, but to teach them virtuous labour, "and," as he puts it, "to leave robbying and stealying and killying one of another."

The adhesion of Neill, son of Brian Faghertagh, to the side of the colonists was but of short duration, as in the third week of November Smith writes to Burghley that he, with his "kiriates" (creaghs, or herds of cattle), is returned again to Sir Brian MacFelim, and that Malbie had taken Sir Brian's youngest daughter prisoner, and shortly afterwards Sir Brian made humble means to be admitted to mercy.

During these disturbances the Whites seem to have suffered considerably. In 1567 we saw that Captains Pess and Malbie had taken up cess beeves in the Dufferin; now we have a petition from John Whyt of the Dufferin to Burghley, setting forth that his land lieth waste, that Captain Pess and others have taken 1,100 acres, besides sheep and swine, and prays that, in consideration, his land may be free from all cess. Added to this, his land was overrun with Scots, whom he could not banish for want of power to take the field against them, and he must, therefore, have welcomed the arrival of Smith,

and the suggestion made by his kinsman, Nicholas White, who, in a letter to Burghley, dated 10 May, 1573, says that Secretary Smith has the wardship of the bearer, Rowland White's son (great-grandson of the above-mentioned John White), whom he intends to marry to one of his nieces, so as to join the Ardes and the Dufferin in affinity.

At this time we read that Smith's son's enterprise needs rather maintenance than stomach, and that he is not without maligners, and he himself says that envy hath hindered him more than the enemy, and that he had been ill-handled by some of his soldiers, ten of whom had been committed to ward. And in a letter to Burghley, in which he says that he has sent his father a history of all that has been done since his arrival, he desires license for victuals and necessaries without custom, and asks some aid for the better countenance of his office of colonelship.

In the meantime, the rumour sent by Anthony de Guaras, that the Earl of Essex was coming to Claneboy with 3,000 men to exterminate the Scots, led to the reinvigoration of the Northern League, and Turlough Lynah, with his allies, the O'Donnells, the Scots, and Sir Brian MacFelim, found himself in possession of a force which numbered some 4,000, which gave the Government so much anxiety that Marshal Bagenall writes to the Lord Deputy that he has sent the borders warning of Turlough Lynagh's coming. A conference was arranged between Thomas Smith, Colonel of the Ardes, and Sorley Boy, who wished to find out the true sentiments and intentions of Elizabeth. At this time all Scots, when settling in Ireland, required letters of denization, and even the children of Scottish parents, although born there, required to obtain them if their parents neglected to do so. At the conference Sorley Boy wished to have himself and his made denizens by patent, and to enjoy the liberties of marriage. In other words, he did not wish that the Queen should have the wardship of any or all of his sons and daughters, which wardship in this case would have been a very oppressive affair indeed. In a very short time afterwards came letters patent, granting denization to Sorley.

"We are given to understand," says the Queen, "that a nobleman named Sorley Boy, and others who be of the Scotch-Irish race, and some of the wild Irish, at this time are content to acknowledge our true and mere right to the countie of Ulster and the crowne of Ireland . . . and we are content that any mere Irish or Scotch-Irish, or other strangers who claim inheritance, or shall hold any lands, or be resident in any place which is within our grant made to Sir Thomas Smith and now Thomas, his son, now Colonel of the Ardes and Claneboy, who will be sworn to be true lieges to us and our successors (as the denizen strangers do sware in the Chancelry of England), before the said Thomas Smith, junior, or the Bishop of Down, accompanied by other discreet persons, and from that day be content to hold their lands of

us and the said Colonel, and shall yearly pay to us 20s. for every plow-land, as all Englishmen, followers of the said Smith, pay, shall be reputed and taken for denizens, and not for mere Irish . . ." Three months after the issue of this grant, Sorley Boy, having placed the Queen's patent and other documents on the point of his sword, and thrust them into a fire lighted for the purpose, appeared with his allies and 3,000 men at Newry, and enjoyed a six hours' skirmish with the troops of the Pale. At this time the Government were trying to enforce an order causing all the Irishry to forego their glybbes, and to banish all the great rolls from the wearing of ladies; and the Ambassador in Scotland had instructions to deal with the Regent and the Earl of Argyle for the revocation of the Scots from Claneboy. But Captain Pess reports from Carrickfergus (or Knockfergus, as it was then called) that the force of the rebel continually increases, as Scots daily come over.

In the following October, the fate foreshadowed in his printed "Letter," in which he says that the Irish, bent on defeating every attempt on the part of strangers to settle near them, sometimes lay "wait to entrap and murther the master himself." Essex, writing from Carrickfergus on 20 October, 1573, to Burghley, says: "The same day, at my coming home, I received letters from Mr. Moore, the pensioner, and from a brother at Mr. Secretary's, that his son Thomas Smith had been slain in the Ardes that afternoon; which, as I have since learned, was by the revolting of certain Irishmen of his household, to whom he overmuch trusted, whereof one being retained by a rebel, Brian Orto O'Neill, did kill him with a shot, and was stricken in the head."

The great host had arrived. Sailing from Liverpool, it reached Carrick-fergus, and Essex reports his arrival, "with small company," to the Privy Council from Carrickfergus on September 10, 1573, his ships having been dispersed by tempest, some to the Isle of Man and some to Cork.

The leader of this invading host was Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, who had been created Earl of Essex the year previous. Like other restless spirits in England who sought fame and fortune, Essex saw in Ireland an attractive field, where he might be able by the conquest of Ulster, to the lands of which he had some claim, to show gratitude to the Queen for his earldom, and at the same time reap wealth and renown for himself.

When the earldom of Ulster became merged in the Crown, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, left a bequest in his will of land in Ulster, to the value of 800 marks yearly. To this bequest Essex was heir, and as the lands of Ulster were nominally in the hands of the Crown, he proposed to Elizabeth "that if he may have Claneboy granted to him, he will release to the Queen his title to eight hundred marks' land given him by the Earl of March's will." He also drew out a device for the planting of Claneboy and the inhabiting of the North of Ireland, and negociating with Secretary Sir Thomas Smith, who

consented to give up to the Earl of Belfast, Massareen, Castle Mowbray, alias Eden Doncarg (Edenduffcarrick, or Shane's Castle), and Castle Toome. Essex's enterprise being so beneficial to Smith in the Ardes, he obtained a grant by patent "of Claneboy, the Route, the Glynns, Raghlin, &c., the fishings of the Ban and Lough Neagh," provided he could remove all rebellious occupiers of the country thence.

Sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill, the chief of Claneboy, was at this time at peace with Queen Elizabeth, and on hearing of the proposed forfeiture of the country which, as he said, his ancestors had held for no less than fourteen generations, he remonstrated, and continued to do so until the grant was confirmed, when he went into open rebellion, swept the country with fire and sword, and burnt Carrickfergus. On the arrival of Essex at Carrickfergus, he "simply submitted" and brought his creaghs, consisting of 10,000 head of cattle, to the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, and Essex reported that he had "given to the Irishry all the Scots' harvest." In the same despatch he notes that Turlough Lynagh and Sorley Boy had combined to maintain the war, but, nevertheless, he writes to the former, informing him of his arrival and his mission to expel the "Scottish alien," and warns him to break off with Sorley Boy, otherwise he (Essex) will denounce him as a traitor, and waste him with fire and sword. Thus he desired to divide the Irish interest.

It was early in September Sir Brian had submitted and brought his herds, as an earnest of his submission, to Carrickfergus, but on discovering Essex's real want of means, he removed his cattle, and on Sept. 29, Essex reports the revolt of Sir Brian MacFelim, and the same day, at Greenwich, the Queen writes to the Lord Deputy, commanding him to give a commission of general captainship in all Ulster to the Earl of Essex, which materially strengthens his position, as it gives him command over the royal troops, which he previously did not have. In the meantime, Essex had turned his attention to Sorley Boy, with whom he was inclined to make an alliance, and now he backs up Thomas Smith's recommendations, and asks that "Sorley Boy may enjoy, by grant from Her Majesty, a portion of the Glynns, claimed by him by inheritance from the Missetts," and urges the Queen to make "Sorley Boy a denizen, and assign him a service, in lieu of rent, as captain of Her Majesty's kerne, which he, being a mercenary man and a soldier, will easily consent with." But Sorley was not to be bought over to injure his allies, and we have seen what he did with the grant, so Essex's dividing policy failed.

On the death of Colonel Thomas Smith, Essex sent a band of horsemen to convey Smith's followers to Holywood, as "all the freeholders and inhabitants of the Ardes be gonne out and joined in rebellion with Nele MacBryan Fertonghe, especiallie Ferdouroughe MacSeneshall [*i.e.*, Lord Savage's son], and the rest, saving Savaige, chief of that name, Denys Smythe, and James MacJeniacke Savaige, which Denys Smythe and

James Savaige, under colour of reeping in, doe more hurt by sending of victualls and intelligence unto the rebells than the rebells themselves can do." At the same time there was a revolt of kerne in the service of the English, and in this connection we learn Essex's opinion that the Baron of Dungannon is the only man of Ulster to be trusted. Putting his faith into action, he despatches the Baron of Dungannon, Moore and Malbie with the horse, to the relief of Cumber, but they were stopped at the Ford of Belfast, where Sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill occupied the ruins of the castle erected there by Lord Mandeville, with the result that Cumber was burnt, and Essex had to march to their aid, when they had a skirmish with Sir Brian, in which 100 were slain, and Norreys and Malbie had their horses shot under them.

What part the Whites took in the rebellion which followed we do not know, but they appear to have held with Essex, for in 1575 Sir Henry Sidney gives the following account of their country at a time when Rowland White is described as Lord of the Dufferin:—"The Dufferin, or White's countrie, I found all wast and desolate, used as they of Clandeboy list. The owner of it is a proper young man, and well disposed, but, I fear, unable to do any good on it, either for the publike or his own particular. In the streights of this countrie Neill MacBrian Ertough, made capten of Clandeboy by the Earl of Essex, shewed his force, and refuzed, though upon protection, to come to me; yet that day he offered me no skermishe."

Rowland White.

In 1548 we get the first mention of Rowland White, who is afterwards described as Lord of the Dufferin in Ulster. On the 22nd of August of this year was written a letter from Dublin by John Goldsmyth to the Lord Deputty Bellyngham, in which information is given that Logan, a Scotch pirate, appertaining of late to the Earl of Lennox, is hovering about Lambay and the Head of Howth, and has taken several vessels. Continuing, it says that Rowland White and John Parker offer to pursue him, if they may have cannon. White desires to have, besides his own artillery, "one fawcon of brasse, ji dosson of Moryce pykes, and xl. sheaffe of arrows," which he will restore.

Hunting pirates seems to have been an amusement of this gentleman, as in 1571, in a letter from the Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to the Privy Council, it is stated that the Mayor and town of Waterford have advertised the taking of John Spaynerd, a wicked pirate, by White, who had also procured the hanging of John Roche and others, for which action White is much commended.

We next hear of him in 1566 on a new adventure. In a letter from Thomas Lancaster to the Earl of Leicester he says he has talked with Rowland White for wood for the mines at Skiddaw, in Cumberland, and adds that the Lord Deputy would be one of the company. Ten months later we have a letter addressed to Cecil from one John Denton, who styles himself a "marchant taylor," and writes on the 16th of January from "On ship board,

near the Head of Howth," in which he recommends to Cecil three books, composed by Rowland White, on the mineral and other affairs of Ireland. Denton also in this letter explains that Sir George Stanley and Sir Henry Radeclyff have dealt severely with him, and that one John Langtrie has withstood him in his service to Cecil and the mineral company, and that, by crafty dealing and procuring his imprisonment, they have nearly ruined him.

In November of the same year Captains Pers and Malbie report from Carrickfergus to the Lord Justices the descent of Sorley Boy into the Glynns with 600 and 700 Scots, and show that they are interested in Rowland White's doings, which do not appear to meet with their approval.

In 1571 the mineral company seem to have brought Rowland White to grief, as we have a note of the surrender of Thomas Fitzsymonds and Rowland White—near neighbours, evidently—to the rejoinder of Chaloner relative to the metals to be gotten at Lambay. But on the 23rd of March there is a letter from Rowland White, styled Lord of the Dufferin in Ulster, at Dublin to Burghley, in which he says that his sickness in the Dufferin prevented Burghley's letter, with the Queen's pleasure for his repair to England, reaching him, and says that he will disclose to Burghley his device for reducing Ireland to the rule of justice, and forwards a brief note of the intents and effects of his (Rowland White's) device for the reformation of Ireland. This letter was a month later forwarded by Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, who, it is noted, was detained in Ireland for service.

Nicholas White also appears to have forwarded a book, dedicated by Rowland White to Sir William Cecil, on the state of Ireland, showing the English suggested "remedies," with proposals of Acts to be passed:—For lineal descent to inherit; resident inhabiting of waste grounds; havens; farmers out of England to inhabit the countries with tillage; forbidding coshery, coin, and livery; men of war in subjects; glybbed hair and other rair apparel; for free schools; a university; hospitals for relief of the poor; presidents; sheriffs; justices of peace; provosts to travel through the lands, and an estimate of the total charges. Of course, these "remedies" were purely intended for the Anglicisation of the country.

Rowland White died in Dublin on the 10th of August, 1571.

(To be continued.)

NOTE.—Is there any copy of this book, or any other book of Rowland White's forthcoming?—ED.

Miscellanea.

REYNOLDS' FAMILY, COUNTY LEITRIM.

In collaboration with another member of the family, I am collecting materials for a history of this ancient family, the original name being "Magrannal," or "MacRannal," anglicised to Reynolds about the time of Queen Elizabeth, and any details of information as to ancestry, copies of monumental inscriptions, family papers, etc., will be gladly received. Any original papers or documents which may be lent will be carefully copied and returned, free of charge, to the sender. Information is also desired of any of the following families, who were allied to the various branches of the Reynolds family, namely:—

Fitzgerald, of Kilmeed, County Kildare.
Delamar and Coyne, of Counties Roscommon and Westmeath.
Lacy, of Dublin.
Keon, of Keonsbrook, Moreagh, Newbrook, and Bendrum, County Leitrim, and of Dublin.
Coyne-Nugent, of County Kildare.
Bulkeley, of Nenagh, County Tipperary.
Hewetson, of Ballyshannon, Coolbeg, and Drumholme, County Donegal.
Byrne, of Ballynakenny, County Roscommon; or of
Reynolds, of Derry (city and county), Tyrone, Antrim, and Armagh.

Replies and particulars may be addressed to Mrs. Reynolds, The Mullens, Ballyshannon, County Donegal, or myself,

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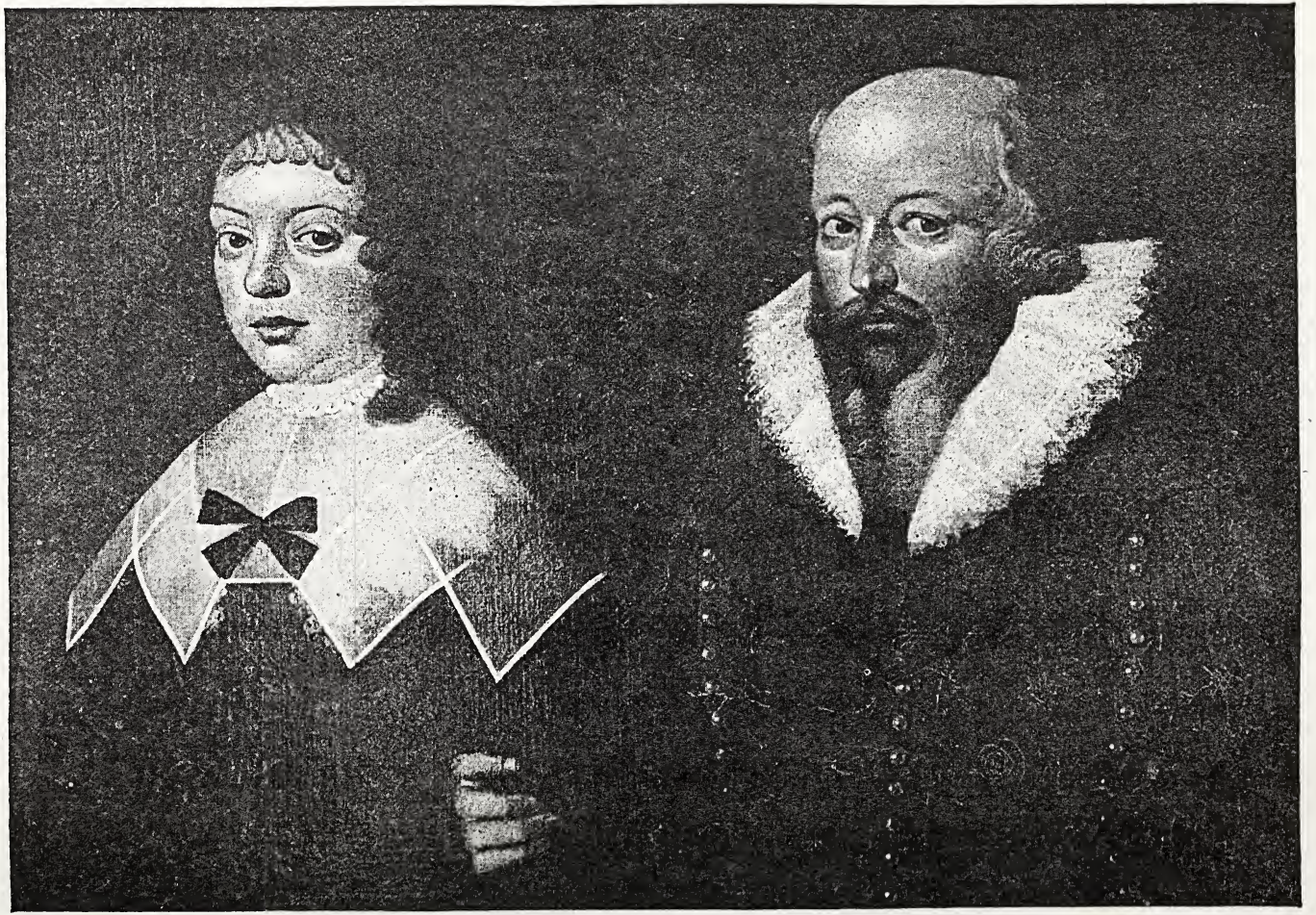

MOSES HILL AND HIS WIFE.

(From the original in Hillsborough Castle.)

ULSTER JOURNAL

OF

ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XIII. AUGUST, 1907. No. 3.

Sir Moses Hill.

A few Notes of his Career.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

MOSES HILL was of a Devonshire stock. There were many lawyers in the family and some privateers, as was customary in all Devonshire families, especially during the reign of queen Elizabeth, when they had free license to sail and plunder the Spanish main. Many of them turned their attention to Ireland at this period, as affording less risks and more definite returns. No one made more out of this venture than Moses Hill. He was a younger son of Robert Hill, and penniless. The remnant of the family estates near Exeter had been squandered absolutely by his father and elder brother, so he must needs go a-field to seek his fortune, and, like Arthur Chichester, of a similar stock from the same place, he succeeded beyond his calculations. He was born about 1553, and when only 20 years of age came to Ireland in the train of the Earl of Essex, on the latter's ill-fated expedition. He subsequently served under his son Robert, Earl of Essex, then under Mountjoy, and finally under Chichester, when the O'Neill lands came to be divided amongst the planters.

By Mountjoy he was appointed Governor of Olderfleet Castle, and in 1603 James I. knighted him and made him Provost Mareschal of the forces at Carrickfergus, with six shillings a day. This office was enlarged to all Ulster in 1613. Lodge says he had two wives—Alice, sister of Somhairle Buidhe MacDonnell, and Anne Logan—leaving two sons by his first wife and three daughters; but Hugh MacCall, in his *House of Downshire*, only mentions one, and she Anne Dobbin, a trader's daughter, of Carrickfergus. The latter is more likely in many ways. Moses Hill had no love for the male MacDonnells, as we shall see, and so was unlikely to meet the women of that family, especially after his narrow shave at Altfracen, in 1597, when Somhairle Buidhe's son, James, struck

terror into his soul, whereas Anne Dobbin was of similar race and creed to himself, residing in Carrickfergus, where he must have spent much time. This is confirmed by MacSkimin, who records that William Dobbin's house in Carrickfergus was occupied by Moses Hill. In the records of Carrickfergus it is noted in the distribution of the local lands that Moyses Hill gets 60 acres in right of his wife in 1603. Hill must have lived a good deal at Olderfleet Castle, which he doubtless strengthened and repaired, raising earthworks about it. Subsequently he resided at Caen ban (now Anglicised Whitehead), where his old castle still stands, known as Castle Chichester. Then he moved to Stranmillis or Malone, and finally to Hill Hall, where he died February, 1629-30, in his 76th year. He was M.P. for Antrim in 1613, and in 1625 High Sheriff; he was also one of the first Burgesses of Belfast. He had an arduous career at first, but he had his mind firmly fixed on acquiring Irish land, and eventually obtained grants of 40,000 acres in Down and several large tracts in Antrim. Our former reference to the MacDonnells may be here extended. John Chichester had laid an ambush for James MacSomhairle MacDonnell and his party at Altfracen, in Templecorran, but fell into his own trap, MacDonnell cutting off his head on a stone in the Glen, slaying and scattering his followers in all directions. Amongst them Moses Hill displayed the finest agility. He neither drew rein nor breath in his wild stampede, swimming his horse across Larne Lough from the Corann to Inis-Magee, and thence careering across the peninsula, like Tam O'Shanter, to the sea coast, where he concealed himself in a cave known as "Moses Hill's cove" to this day. "Safety in flight" was his motto. Churchmen had no love for him, as he was greedy of church lands. He acquired some as far South as the Boyne, when Mooney speaks of him thus: "To us Franciscans he was another Heliodorus, desecrating our holy places, persecuting the members of our brotherhood, and laying sacrilegious hands on the consecrated utensils of the sanctuary." Richard Dobbs throws a side light on his character whilst he was in residence at Castle Chichester. Foulk Conway, when Governor of Carrickfergus, dined one evening with Moses Hill. The far-seeing Moses gave his waiting boy instructions, when the drinking grew heavy, to ply Foulk with wine and his master from a bottle filled with water. His Irish boy reversed the order, deeming his master best entitled to the wine, with a disastrous result, as Foulk retired sober, thanking his host more for his meat than his drink, and Moses was unable to leave his chair. Next morning the angry Moses decreed the hanging of that boy, who only escaped by a witty reply—that the payer should get wine and the non-payer water, which appeased his wrath, and so the boy escaped and lived to be an old man. In a future article we hope to give some architectural details and a fuller account of the residences of Moses Hill.

John Glendy, of Maghera, Co. Derry,

Presbyterian Minister and Patriot, 1798.

The following is taken from an American book in possession of A. K. Morrison of Maghera, entitled "One Hundred Years"—1802-1902. Second Presbyterian Congregation, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A. There has never been any full Irish account of Glendy.

JOHN GLENDY was born near the City of Derry on the 24th June, 1755, his father being Samuel Glendy. He was educated in the University of Glasgow, licensed to preach in 1777, and ordained minister of Maghera on December 26th, 1778. His wife was Elizabeth Cresswell, of Derry, They lived in a house a short distance from the village, to which was attached a farm of some ten or twelve acres. The farm is occupied at present by a family called Shivers. From the congregation he received £50 of Stipend. In addition to that he got the regium donum, which may have amounted to anything between £30 and £40 per annum. All told, his income as minister at Maghera was less than £80 a year. This sum seems small, but, on the other hand, it should be remembered that the buying power of money was greater then than now, and that of the 183 presbyterian congregations in Ulster in the year 1799 almost 100 paid less than £50 of stipend.

The first important work done by John Glendy in Maghera was the building of a new meeting-house. The old one on Fair Hill was in a dilapidated condition, and in 1785 he obtained a new site and erected a new building. This was ruined in '98, but the site chosen by him is that on which the present church stands. Of the work of John Glendy as a pastor there is little information available. The services were longer then than now; he began at 11 o'clock and finished at 3, with a short interval at 1. Sermons then were both long and strong. The local tradition is that as a preacher John Glendy was eloquent and forcible. His delivery, it is said, was rather fast, but his voice was pleasing, his manner energetic, and his matter good. His preaching attracted large audiences and excited the jealousy of the rector of the established church—a fact not without consequences in the troubled year of '98.

After the building of the new meeting-house John Glendy took a keen interest in the social and political movements of the times. . . . It is not surprising that there was widespread dissatisfaction in Ireland, and that a strong agitation sprang up calling for reform. Under pressure

of that agitation England began to make concessions. But these came only by piecemeal and after keen struggle. Meantime the American colonies fought for and won their independence, the French revolution had triumphed, and the natural consequence in Ireland was the rise of a party—the united Irishmen—that demanded the equality of all creeds in

JOHN GLENDY,
(1755-1832)
Presbyterian Minister of Maghera, Co. Derry,
Patriot, 1798.

matters political, the extension of the franchise, the freedom of trade, the reform of Parliament, and a large measure of national autonomy.

That the united Irishmen sought national separation from England from the first is not true, though that eventually became the policy of some of their leaders. At first, too, they proceeded along constitutional lines, and so long as they kept to constitutional methods they were

supported by many members of the protestant established church and by the great body of non-conformists, both lay and clerical. On the adoption of more active methods they lost some of this support. In '91 the first branch was formed in Belfast, and from that year their organisation grew with remarkable rapidity.

Fortunately, there is documentary evidence of John Glendy's attitude to the new party. In the *Northern Star*, the Belfast organ of the united Irishmen, there appeared a notice of a sermon preached by Glendy at Maghera in December, '92. According to this notice, Glendy exhibited on this occasion distinguished abilities in a manly, disinterested and public-spirited manner, having displayed, with peculiar energy, the signal interposition of heaven on behalf of the French nation. This notice speaks for itself, and sufficiently indicates that Glendy was in full sympathy with the principles of the united Irishmen as at first formulated.

In Maghera a corps of united Irishmen was formed, called the "Maghera national guards," in which catholics and episcopalians and presbyterians alike enrolled themselves. There is no evidence to show that Glendy was either an organizer, an officer, or a member of that corps, while there is abundant testimony that he took no active part in the actual insurrection. He was undoubtedly in sympathy with the movement. . . . The Maghera corps, about 5,000 strong, assembled on the 7th of June, 1798. Only about 500 had firearms—the remainder carried pikes, pitchforks, and spades. They held the town that night, and marched next morning to Crewe hill, about a mile from the village. On the first appearance of the soldiers they disbanded; some of them turned loyalist, but most of them went quietly home. Two of their leaders, William MacIver and William Harper, escaped to America; two others, Walter Graham and William Cuddy, were foully betrayed, hanged and beheaded.

As stated, John Glendy took no active part in the actual rising. His sympathies were, however, well known, and he was a marked man. Mrs. Glendy fled to her friends in Derry, and he himself went into hiding. His house was burnt by the yeomen under colonel Leith, his property destroyed, and search was made for him.

Not far from his house was a place called "The Groves." It was deeply wooded and covered with brush, and one part of it lay low. It belonged to Wilson, who had been a presbyterian and a member of Glendy's congregation, but, becoming dissatisfied with Glendy's political tendencies, had entered the established church, and had thus the advantage of being certified as a loyalist by the rector. In this low-lying and swampy place, safe from inspection of the military because owned by an acknowledged loyalist and opponent of Glendy's, the minister of Maghera found security for about a fortnight.

It is greatly to the credit of Wilson's memory that he did not betray the pastor with whom he had quarrelled, and that he helped to supply him with eatables during his retreat. In "The Groves" two guineas were found when trees were being felled. At the end of about a fortnight Glendy decided to attempt an escape. From a woman called Sarah MacQuirken he obtained a petticoat, cloak, bonnet and a pair of martens (stockings without feet). He donned these garments, dressed his long hair in female fashion, and crept from his hiding-place. He was discovered and almost captured at the very beginning. Two men observed him, and one of them cried out, "By heaven that is Glendy," and prepared to give chase. The other, however, was a presbyterian. He seized his companion, who was a magistrate, an episcopalian and a bigoted Tory, and said: "Well, if it is Glendy, you and I will have no part in putting the rope around his neck." He held him until Glendy disappeared. Making towards Tobermore, Glendy met a woman whom he knew he could trust, and she walked to Tobermore, almost two miles, with him. They went by the public road, and they met a company of soldiers. The woman's presence, however, saved Glendy, and he made his way without much difficulty to Derry, and from Derry to America. When saying farewell to the woman, he told her that if he reached America in safety he would send her a silver spoon. He kept his promise, and the silver spoon is at present in possession of one of the woman's granddaughters. He also sent Sarah MacQuirken a sum of money with which to buy clothes in place of those he had taken. She did not, however, have this pleasure, for she remarked somewhat plaintively to a neighbour, "My mither bought a coo with it." . . . At Derry, being joined by his faithful wife, he was compelled to embark on an old, unseaworthy vessel, crowded with emigrants as eager as himself to escape the rigorous persecution of a narrow-minded statesmanship. Soon after putting to sea, the passengers and crew were forced to man the pumps to keep the old hulk afloat. It was with the greatest difficulty they made harbour at Norfolk, Va., some time in the year 1799. The poor emigrants were in such a wretched condition that the captain of the vessel, taking pity upon them, requested Glendy to preach for their benefit in the courthouse of the town, for there was no presbyterian church in the place. The sermon must have been one of marked power, for several distinguished lawyers were thereby influenced to make enquiry into Glendy's previous history, and upon ascertaining, extended to both Dr. Glendy and his worthy wife, who had shared all his perils and labours with loyal devotion, a most cordial welcome, while all the good people of the town vied to do them honour. Glendy soon found that he was not robust enough to stand the climate of Norfolk, and upon the advice of a physician went to Staunton, Va. He had not been there

very long until he was called to assume the pastoral care of two churches —Staunton and Bethel—both in Augusta County, Va. These congregations he supplied for two years.

While preaching in these obscure places he became acquainted with Thomas Jefferson, then president of the United States, who greatly admired him and invited him to Washington for a visit. His sermon preached in Washington attracted much attention, which, together with Jefferson's fondness for him, soon noised abroad his fame and made him prominent in the minds of the presbyterians of Baltimore as a worthy successor of Dr. Patrick Allison. He was appointed chaplain to the Senate in 1816. John Glendy had 4 daughters and 2 sons.

He was singularly neat, even elegant, in his dress. His hair was thrown into artificial curls, and powdered as white as the snows of Mount Blanc. His complexion was pale, his eye intensely blue, his gesticulation animated and graceful but somewhat profuse. He was short of stature. He died at Philadelphia 4th October, 1832, in his 72nd year, and was buried by moonlight beside his wife in the Glendy Cemetery, Baltimore, near the centre of the ground.

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County Down (Supplemental).

(Continued from page 62.)

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(Additions and corrections invited.)

Old County of Down Presentments.

By Francis Joseph Bigger.

THERE lately came into my hands some papers of Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, and amongst them a bundle of Grand Jury Presentments for the Assizes held at Downpatrick between the years 1785 and 1811. Most of the items are of no historic interest, but a few throw some light on the doings of the county authorities of the period. In going through these legal documents I have just culled a few entries which may be read for what they are worth. The great bulk of the presentments is for repairing bridges, building walls, making drains and roads. The "new gaol," which was superseded in 1831 by the one now fortunately empty and going to ruin, was commenced in 1789 according to the following entry of August in that year:—

"We present that a new Gaol be built pursuant to a Presentment for that purpose made last Assizes with this difference that the *felons cells be divided into three stories* according to a new plan annexed, the whole to be executed at £6000 expence inclusive of £1000 presented at last Assizes and raised for carrying on that work, and we present Charles Lilley architect to be added to the overseers appointed by the Presentment at last Assizes and present a further sum of £1000 ster. parcel of said gross sum of £6000 to be raised off this county."

The provision of such ample gaol accommodation at this period by the county authorities, the Stewarts, the Fordes, the Wards, and the like was ominous of the times. In the same year the Treasurer, Hamilton Moore, was a defaulter, so his suretys had to pay up. In 1792 the ground for the gaol was purchased at the price of £233 10s. 10d., and at same Assize Benjamin Lindsay received £6 5s. "for locks, bolts, chains, holdfasts, and for to secure the prisoners in jail." In 1796 the new gaol appears to have been finished in due time for the Insurrection, then fully anticipated. The walls were, however, raised in April, '98, at a cost of £37 17s., paid to James and John MacArtan. In April, 1798, Thomas Parkinson received £9 6s. 5d. for a pillory, and Peter Daly £5 19s. 9d. for work done at the stocks. Several years before a "neck-yoke for condemned felons" had been provided by Benjamin Lindsay, at a cost of £5 2s. 6d.

There was the office of Inspector attached to the gaol, filled by a clergyman. His was a queer post. In 1785 we find—"To Rev. John Dickson £60, to buy bread for prisoners," and like entries in 1786, '87, '88, '89, '90 and '91, when Dickson was succeeded by the reverend Nathaniel Inch, to carry on the same supply. Inspector Dickson also received £20 per year as a salary, and on one occasion £3 17s. 4½d. was paid his reverence "to open the shore and fix an iron grate on

the necessary house in the gaol." This was after the escape of some prisoners by that exit. Truly his occupation was a little mixed, although at this time he was an archdeacon, with his brother, the bishop of Down, and himself in receipt of large emoluments. His burial was at Hillsborough in 1814, where there is a monument to his memory. Jobbing was the order of the day. "Lord Townshend had obtained for his [lord Hillsborough's] friend Dr. Dickson the deanery of Downe worth £1500 a year" for political services *(see Parliament of 1775)*. This was the father of the archdeacon and the bishop.

In April, 1791, the rev. Nathaniel Inch, curate, takes up the running, receiving "£60 for bread for the prisoners" and £18 4s. "to purchase coals and candles for the military guard at gaol." In March, 1795, the rev. Arthur Forde, of the Seaforde family, succeeds to the post, when he draws £60 for bread for the prisoners and £10 as a half-year's salary, and in the July following £250, "out of which he is to reimburse himself £42 8s. 6d. advanced by him for prisoners' bread." In April, 1798, he receives £200 for bread, and, with John Reilly, £39 "for iron bedsteads for the prisoners." In the September of same year Forde received £10 "for half-year's salary," and £10 "for extra trouble at last Assizes." This is a rather commercial way of recording his clerical duties at the then frequent hangings. In the March following the same is repeated, so the "extra trouble" had been continued." £213 18s. 10½d. was also allowed him for prisoners' bread. In August, 1800, the prisoners' bread amounted to £317 2s. 1½d., and the half-year's salary £10; but in March following the bread was £400, the salary £10, and £10 "for extraordinary trouble." This was putting it rather strong, especially when £10 2s. 3d. was allowed him "for jackets and trowzers for prisoners." He had their souls and bodies well in keeping, and was so paid for his "extraordinary trouble." Truly the labourer was worthy of his hire. In July, 1801, the prisoners' bread was still up—£424 11s. 3½d. is the record—the salary remains at £10 the half-year, but an additional £5 is added as chaplain, and nothing is said about "extraordinary trouble." This is repeated in 1802, when the bread allowance sinks to £126 10s. 1d. Forde was at the same time the well-paid incumbent of Loughinisland. £5 15s. 0½d. was paid Robert Chambers "for supplying the prisoners in gaol for medicines."

Petty constables were appointed at each assize; their duties were to collect assessments and convey prisoners to Downpatrick. James North, petty constable, receives £1 16s. "for conveying several prisoners at different times from Hillsborough." These petty constables were no more men of reliance than the county treasurer. In July, 1790, George Brush, high constable of Lower Iveagh, was reimbursed "for losses sustained in collecting public moneys of the petty constables having absconded £34 11s. 8½d." High constables were also appointed; these

were mostly under-agents of the landlords and men of that class. David MacKee and Robert Breeze were high constables doubtless through the Londonderry-Cleland interest. Their names or those of their kinsmen are not favourably mentioned in the '98 period. William Byers, high constable, receives £7 in 1791 "for collecting public money."

The sheriff, in August of the same year, receives £30 "for transmitting 6 convicts to Cork to be transported." This was £5 per head—not bad remuneration.

In 1798 we find such presentments as this:

"To Samuel Sandyford for convicting Bernard Kean for Felony £6." Felony is a broad legal word and might mean nearly any offence.

Special work was well paid for. "To John Brett Clerk of the Peace for holding Sessions under the Insurrection Act £21." "To George Stephenson for 'extra trouble' £7 19s. 3d." This was not clerical trouble.

"To Robert Moffat for printing proclamations £21 8s."

"To the *Belfast News-Letter* for advertising Session under the Insurrection Act £12 13s. 7d."

"To John Moore for printing public orders £58 16s. 3d."

A rather curious series of items is the payment of presentments where the "work" was not done; that is, where there were acquittals of prisoners—

"To the Clerk of the Crown in lieu of fees for prisoners tried and acquitted this Assize £30."

"To the Sheriff for fees for prisoners tried and acquitted at this Assize £15."

"To Joseph Robinson jailor for fees for prisoners tried and acquitted at this Assize £6."

"To the Clerk of the Peace for fees for prisoners tried and acquitted at this Assize £15." This was in April, 1792.

During all these years, even through '98, large sums were assessed at every assize for "killing vermin." No details are supplied, but it is evident from the localities where the recipients came from that this was largely in the interests of the landlords, who were then establishing demesnes and wished to go in for the protection of game, and so the "killing vermin" was laid to the charge of the county. Seaforde, Castle Ward, Hillsborough, Grey Abbey occur perennially. In 1785 Sam Rogers, of Dumaragh, receives £6 11s. 8d., amongst many others, for "killing vermin." In August, 1789, £26 is paid fourteen persons for like services. John Redman, of Tollymore, receives £5 12s. 9d. in April, 1793, and at next Assize £22 16s. 6d. for "killing vermin." Richard Scarlet, of same place, receives £3 19s. 1d. The bishop of Down, in 1792, brother of the Gaol inspector, archdeacon of Down, is the regular recipient of £100 "to provide food and medicines for patients in the county Infirmary." There is precedent, therefore, for hospitals being on the rates.

Not only was the hospital on the local rates, so were the militia. In July, 1796, the following occurs:—

"To the Treasurer for one year's salary paying Militia £10."

In 1799 there are two entries for £5 each "for payment of militiamen's families." Where were the militiamen? This item occurs again in 1801.

Miscellaneous grants like the following are recorded, 16th March, 1790:—

"To William Trotter chief magistrate for making his returns of the price of grain since the year 1788 £5 4s. od."

"To Taylor Trevor seneshal of Portaferry for making his return of the price of grain to the custom house of Strangford £10 8s."

Portaferry now languishes without a seneshal, and it would be hard to find the need for a custom house at Strangford. Francis Price, M.P. for Lisburn, received the job of collector at Strangford, which he got leave to sell, and asked to be made a Revenue Commissioner for services rendered (see Irish Parliament, 1775).

Presentments for repairing or making roads were evidently pressed forward by the landlord and grand jurymen, whose interests were most affected. On 5th April, 1793, occurs:

"To the rt. hon. lord Londonderry and the rev. John Cleland [who was the agent, chaplain and secret service advisor of the family] to repair 140 perches of road between the corporation of Newtownards and Samuel Corry's dwelling-house in the Isles of Scraba £35." Ditto at Ballyrogan £28 10s. Two years previous the same parties received £15 15s. "to repair 90 perches of road from Newtownards to Greyabbey," and one year previous £31 13s. 9d. "to repair and widen Cunningburn Bridge, near Mount Stewart."

The old long bridge into Belfast needed a deal of attention. In March, 1789, £21 5s. 7d. "was given to repair the Long Bridge into Belfast provided the grand jury of county Antrim present the like sum."

"To Waddell Cunningham, Charles Brett, Merchants, Francis Savage, James Hamilton and Benjamin Edwards to widen the east end of Long Bridge Belfast £48."

In August, 1793, was passed the presentment:

"To Francis Savage and James Hamilton to pave the little bridge at the end of the Long Bridge on the great road leading from Belfast to Newtownards £14 5s. 6½d."

It was again repaired in 1798, at a cost of £18 5s. 8d., and again, in same year, it was paved at a cost of £13 15s. Wolfenden's bridge over the Lagan at Lambeg was repaired in 1789 at a cost of £22 5s.

Kate's bridge is referred to in a presentment as "Kate Mackeys bridge." The second name is now almost forgotten.

In 1798 quite a number of claims were made and allowed for "robbery" and "for fire." Of course these enactments were taken full advantage of to penalise disaffected districts. In September, 1798, the sum of £77 19s. 10d. was raised off the parishes of Donacloney, Cumber, Dromore, Moira, and Drumbo to compensate "for damages sustained by disorderly persons," which was perhaps an unconsciously truthful way of putting it. Was it sarcasm on the scribe's part or a clerical error?

In March, 1799, £481 9s. 2d. was paid in the same way, Tullylis being a heavy bearer of the burden. This included £30 for "Strucklands mill at Bangor." The ruins long stood in what is called Strickland's glen. In July of the same year £96 18s. 11d. was paid, and in August, 1800, £172 19s. 6½d., and in March, 1801, £70.

A closer examination of these old assize records might reveal many other curious and interesting items, but the above will suffice for the present paper. The part taken by bishop Percy in '98 has never been fully made known. I have now sufficient documents in my possession to elucidate it, which I intend doing in the life of Henry Monro.

Notes Added by Edward Parkinson, Downpatrick.

GAOL.

The gaol referred to in the presentment is situated in English Street, immediately adjoining the court house. The site was purchased from William Annesley, the dean of Down, and formed portion of the cathedral grounds. At summer assizes, 1831, the present gaol being then erected and fit for the reception of prisoners, the grand jury presented for sale the site of the old gaol, "excepting a strip of said ground running from the front boundary wall of said gaol to the extremity of said ground in the rere of said gaol along the eastern boundary of the said ground said strip to be 26 feet wide in the clear and which strip they presented to make a way or passage from the street commonly called the Mall to the new gaol." The premises were sold by public auction in the year 1832, and purchased by the late John Saul, whose representatives, in 1859, sold it to the late W. N. Wallace. The road referred to in the presentment of 1831 was made. What was the garden of the gaol is now occupied by the dwelling-houses of H. C. Weir and Mrs. Agar. In all other respects the premises are in the same order as they were when sold. They were from time to time occupied by the various detachments of military stationed in Downpatrick, and are occupied every year by the recruits of the South Down militia.

The *Belfast News-Letter* of 27th March, 1789, contains the following:

"There is to be built for the county of Down a gaol with a *bath*, a *stove* and other requisites ordered by the late Act of Parliament agreeable to the ideas of Mr. Howard. This humane plan will be carried into effect without encreasing the burthen of taxes on the county."

"A Down Freeholder," writing to the same journal 19th August, 1791, says:

"It is reported (its hoped without foundation) that it is intended (agreeable to a certain vice regal plan) to have a stage erected for the execution of criminals upon the front of the new gaol. Surely the freemen of the county of Down will not erect a Bastile for private execution when that scourge of freedom has been so lately demolished elsewhere." This was not carried out. Thomas Russell was executed in 1803 on a temporary platform erected on barrels in front of the gaol gate.

EXECUTION OF THOMAS RUSSELL AT DOWNPATRICK JAIL,
30th October, 1803.

Prior to the erection of the gaol, in 1789, the building now known as the County Rooms was used as a gaol. The only persons in charge of the gaol and its prisoners were the gaoler and one turnkey, who also generally acted as executioner. A correspondent from Downpatrick to the *Northern Star* of 23rd May, 1792, says:

"Early this morning the criminals in our jail forced open the grate of the sewer through which they made their way out of the prison, and what is remarkable they came up within the pallisades only a few yards from the sentry box where a soldier was on guard and escaped without his notice. One has been retaken, but the noted Marmion and five others have gone off."

The new gaol was completed in 1796, and thereupon the former gaol was converted into a public restaurant, "and a wholesale metamorphose accomplished when the gorgeous saloons supplanted the gloomy dungeon and the wine inspiring hilarity succeeded the groans of the doomed captive. The pleasures of the table in the exquisite productions of doctor Kitchener contrasted with the misery of a felon's prison where the lonely captive stood at the grated window supplicating alms from the passing stranger; this mode of begging was managed by the captive extending a rod through the iron bars, with a little bag attached to the end in which the dole was deposited, and so drawn in by the supplicant. No comfortable dietary was then established for the inmates of the prison."—*Downpatrick Recorder*, 27th May, 1854.

The prisoners considered they were indebted to the inhabitants of the county for aid towards their necessities, as witness the following extract from the *Belfast News-Letter* of 13th March, 1789:—

"We the prisoners confined in the gaol of Down acknowledge to have received from David Kerr (by the hands of the rev. John Dickson and Dr. Macara) at different distributions the sum of ten guineas for which humane and seasonable relief we beg to return him our most grateful thanks. At same time give us leave to return our grateful thanks to the rev. John Dickson and Dr. Macara for their very judicious distribution of the above charitable donations.

"Signed by order of the prisoners,

"Joseph Robinson,

"gaoler."

Pillory and Stocks.

In the article in the *Downpatrick Recorder* of May, 1854, from which I have already quoted, the following appears:—

"A penal stocks, about five feet in height, stood at the front of the town clock, (otherwise one of the towers of De Courcey's magnificent castle) where summary punishment was inflicted upon offenders of a minor class; but these were removed and substitute stocks erected on the same site of about twenty four feet in height, where the culprit stood up, on an open floor, a considerable height above the crowd (instead of being seated as before) and thus his head was protruded whilst his arms were likewise between the two wooden planks, and so exposed he was on some occasions assailed with eggs flung at his head by such persons in the assembled crowd as were determined to aggravate his punishment. On these elevated stocks a number of men were executed in 1798 for rebellious crimes for which they were tried and convicted by courts martial which sat in the grand jury room of the Sessions house, others for minor offences were tried by the same court and whipped at these stocks also."

INFIRMARY.

This payment was made pursuant to an act of the Irish parliament, 5 Geo. 3, Cap. 20, which enacted that there should be provided an infirmary or hospital "in the several and respective county towns or at a distance not exceeding one mile from the court house in the county town of each and every of the said counties," and amongst other things provided that the grand jury of each county should, at every summer assizes, present a sum not exceeding £100 nor less than £50 for the support and maintenance of the county infirmary. In the latter end of 1767 the first Down county infirmary was opened in Saul Street. Seven years later it was removed to the cavalry barracks (now known as Saul Terrace), where it remained until 1835, when the present building was erected and opened. The dole of £100 per annum allowed by the Act of 1767 was increased by subsequent enactments. The present institution is largely supported by private endowments.

List of Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, &c., printed in Newry from 1764 to 1810.

By E. R. MacC. Dix.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE have already appeared in this Journal two articles about Newry-printed books, &c.—namely, one by the rev. W. T. Latimer and another by me. Dr. Crossle's published lecture on the subject is also well-known, but it seems proper now to deal with the subject as a whole and as fully as possible, to which end the following list has been compiled, with the great and special aid of Dr. Crossle, who encouraged me to thus intrude on his province, and placed freely at my disposal all his information on the subject. The rev. W. T. Latimer also gave me special help.

It will be soon observed by even a casual reader of it, how many titles are taken merely from catalogues or old advertisements. One reason for bringing this list before the readers of this Journal is in the hope that they may have copies of these missing works, or at least know where such are to be found. There must be many private libraries in Ulster in corners of which lie at rest such works, or, perhaps, in some diocesan or other public libraries, or those belonging to different churches or religious bodies, such as that of the General Assembly in Belfast. It is much to be desired that in all such stores of literature or theology careful search be made for our local printing, and I would strongly appeal to all our readers, who can help in this matter in any degree, to kindly do so, and to communicate the result to me or the editor. Till a list such as this is made out as fully as possible, and full particulars of every item are given, its usefulness is much curtailed.

It is also desirable to trace and identify the authors of anonymous works.

The importance, value and interest of our provincial press of the 18th Century has not sufficiently been realized. How much has been lost for this reason it is hard to estimate.

It is much to be regretted that so little of the Newry newspaper press is to be here found recorded.

As the List is too long to appear in one issue of the Journal, it is better to defer comments on it, or drawing any deductions from it, till it has fully appeared, and perhaps ere then some further information or additional titles may be obtained.

What special occasion led to the first setting-up of a printing press in Newry has still to be told. No doubt Belfast was sufficiently near to provide by its presses what printing was required for Newry in the first half or so of the 18th century; but a period must have come when a local press was necessary even for business purposes, and I cannot think that Carpenter, the first recorded printer in Newry, would have commenced business on an edition of "The Gentle Shepherd," and printed no more for about two years.

Considerable variety will be observed in the character of the output of the Newry Press.

1764.—"The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy, With New Songs." Allan Ramsey. *Daniel Carpenter.* 12mo., 78pp., $6\frac{3}{8}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$.—Newry Free Library.

1766.—The Newry Almanack for . . . 1767. *Daniel Carpenter.*—*Vide* Advertisement in *Belfast News-Letter,* 17th November, 1766.

1766.—The Ulster Royal Sheet Almanack for . . . 1767. A Broadside. *Daniel Carpenter.*—*Vide* same advertisement.

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1767.—The Newry Poor Robin, and The Ulster Royal Sheet Almanack for the year of our Lord 1768. *Daniel Carpenter.*—*Vide* advertisement in *Belfast News-Letter* of 4th December, 1767.

1767.—A Short and Plain Catechism, Being an Explication of The Creed, The Ten Commandments, and The Lord's Prayer. By Way of Question and Answer. The Rev. Samuel Chandler, D.D. Third edition. *Dan. Carpenter.* 12mo., 24pp., 6 x $3\frac{3}{4}$ (cut down.)—F. C. Crossle.

1769.—"The Pleasures? or (*sic*) a Single Life; or, The Miseries of Matrimony." Occasionally writ, on the many Divorces lately granted by Parliament. To which is added, The Choice; or, The Pleasures of a Country-Life. Dedicated to the Beaus against the next Vacation. Newry: Printed by *Dan. Carpenter.* 12mo., 16pp. Size, $6\frac{5}{8}$ x $3\frac{7}{8}$ (cut down).—Dr. Crossle.

N.B.—No date is given.

1770.—"The Death of Abel," in Five Books, attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. Eleventh edition. *George Stevenson.* 12mo., 112pp., $6\frac{3}{8}$ x $3\frac{5}{8}$. —Newry Free Library.

1770.—"The Œconomy of Human Life," etc. In Two Parts. *Daniel Carpenter,* in Sugar Island. 12mo., 80pp.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix; R. R. Belshaw.

Note.—There is a separate Title-page to the Second Part.

1771.—The Regulations formed by the last General Synod for Admission of Candidates to the Holy Ministry. With a Short Address of the Presbytery of Armagh to their Congregations. *George Stevenson.* 8vo., 8pp.—Brit. Mus., 4165, aaa., 1/4.

1771.—"Prayers for the Use of Families." Wm. Enfield. *George Stevenson.* 12mo., 106pp.—Rev. R. S. Maffet; Brit. Mus., 3456, dd., 28; Dr. Crossle.

1771.—"The Miraculous Cure; or, The Citizen Outwitted." A Farce. Brownlow Forde. *George Stevenson.* 12mo., 42pp. and 1 leaf.—Nat. Lib., Dublin; Joly, Plays. King's Inns; Farces, Vol. 22. R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 362/3.

1771, March.—"The Newry Journal." (Bi-Weekly?)

Note—This newspaper most probably was started at this date, calculating by the No. stated under the year 1774. Post.

1772.—A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the late Rev. George Richey, Preached at Donoghmore, etc. Rev. Samuel Barber, A.M. *George Stevenson.* 8vo., 28pp.—Dr. John S. Crone; Magee College, Derry.

1773.—"Some Hints on Planting." *George Stevenson.* 12mo., 24pp.—Brit. Mus., 11643, aaa., 1/9; R.I.A., H.P., Vol. 377/11; Lough Fea.

1774, March 14th.—"The Newry Journal." Jones & Co. Vol. IV., No. 402. Eight pages of three columns each. *(Wood Gibson Jones).*—Lord Iveagh's Library, Farmleigh.

1774.—"Ireland Preserv'd; or, The siege of Londonderry." A Tragi-Comedy, *Daniel Carpenter.* 12mo., 72pp.—Brit. Mus., 11777, a., 33.

1775.—"Truth Restored; or, The New Method of Swearing Religious Oaths by Touching and Kissing a Book Examined." Rev. William Stavely, Minister at Ann's Borough, near Belfast. (Reformed Presbyterian.)—Authority: Rev. W. T. Latimer and "Witherow," II., p. 329.

1775.—"A Sure Guide to Hell." By Beelzebub. *Wood Gibson Jones.* 8vo., 58pp. —F. C. Crossle, M.B.

1775.—"A Sure Guide to Hell." Another Edition. *Robert Stevenson.* xii. and 92pp.—Dublin Municipal Library.

1775.—"A Mysterious Doctrine Unriddled; or, Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers Considered," etc., etc. J. M. (Boston). *Daniel Carpenter and J. Gordon.* 12mo., 76pp.—Dublin Municipal Library; F. C. Crossle, M.B.; Assembly's College, Belfast.

1775.—A Theisi wrote on the Most Noble and now Universally Interesting Science of Agriculture, etc. Abr. Fry.—*Vide* Sale Catalogue of the Library of William Monck Mason, p. 56.

1776.—"The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy, With New Songs." Allan Ramsey. *Daniel Carpenter.* 12mo., 70pp. and 1 leaf, at end, of "Book and Pamphlets sold by Daniel Carpenter, Sugar Island."—Rev. R. S. Maffett.

1776.—A New Historical Catechism, containing witty answers to several questions of many wonderful Matters. By a Doctor of Divinity. 12mo., 24pp., Price Threepence.—Brit. Mus., 4375, df., 9 (2).

N.B.—No Printer is given.

1777.—"Thoughts on the Letters of Edmund Burke to the Sheriffs of Bristol," &c. The Earl of Abbingdon. *Joseph Gordon.* 8vo., 36pp., Sigs. A to E2, Folds in Fours.—Magee College, Londonderry, 2, D., 14.

1777.—The *Newry Chronicle* probably was started in this year, calculating by the Nos. of those of 1788 (which see), and taking it to have been always a bi-weekly Journal.—*Vide* also *Hibernian Magazine,* April, 1777.

1778.—Robert Stevenson, printer, died this year, and his stock-in-trade and house were advertised for sale "for the sole benefit of 5 Orphan Children."—*Vide Belfast News-Letter* of 22nd July, 1778.

1778.—Joseph Gordon purchased the business.—*Vide Belfast News-Letter* of 23rd September, 1778.

1778.—An Appeal to the Public Occasioned by an Advertisement in the *Belfast News-Letter.* Dated 2nd December, 1777. Signed, Hill Wallace, etc. Rev. William Fraser. *Jos. Gordon.* 8vo., 106pp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 403, 3.

1779.—A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Reverend Presbytery of Root, . . . October 26, 1779. The Rev. James Poulson. 8vo., 24pp. Printed for the Author and sold by Daniel Carpenter and Joseph Gordon —Rev. W. T. Latimer, Eglish, Dungannon.

N.B.—There is an advertisement on p. 24 of another work by the same Author.

1779.—A Letter to the People of Ireland, on the expediency and necessity of the present Associations in Ireland, In favour of our Own Manufactures. With some Cursory Observations on the effects of a Union. *Joseph Gordon.* 8vo., 50pp., 7 x 4¼.—F. C. Crossle.

1779.—A Sermon delivered in the Meeting House of Rathfriland, October 24th, 1779, to the Castlewellan Rangers and Rathfriland Volunteers. The Rev. Samuel Barber, M.A. *Joseph Gordon.* 8vo., 12pp., 8 x 4¾.—F. C. Crossle.

(To be continued.)

OBVERSE. REVERSE.

OLD PENAL WOODEN CRUCIFIX.

FULL SIZE.

(Preserved at Ardrigh.)

Old Penal Cross.

By Francis Joseph Bigger.

ROSSES of the description of this one, shown to full size, in the illustration are fairly common. They date from the dark penal times when the catholics were under iniquitous banns, and everything relating to their religious beliefs prescribed and legally cursed. This cross bears the date 1734, and has long been preserved at Ardrigh, having been found by a relative, Samuel Giffen, a surveyor, when making a new road near Ballymena over sixty years ago. It was found in the ruins of an old house, quite uninjured and in good order, only showing signs of being rubbed or much worn, as if it had been long carried on the person or used in devotion. It is made of oak wood and rudely carved, evidently the work of some local untrained hand, whose knowledge exceeded his skill. The symbols of the Passion are fairly represented. On the face is the figure of Christ within a radiating nimbus, surmounted by the inscription I.N.R.I., the I. and N. being joined. The right-hand side shows the ladder, and the left the spear; whilst at the base is depicted the cock, the hammer, and the thongs. The reverse has the sacred monogram I.H.S. at the centre, surmounted by a cross, so usual all over Ireland. On the shaft is the date 1734, and at the base the pincers, the three nails, and two small whips. The whole is surrounded by a rude moulding—the cross itself being about $\frac{1}{2}$in. thick. On the top was a loop through which a cord or chain might pass to suspend the cross to a rosary or around the neck. The way the cross is worn smooth clearly proves it to have been much used and valued. There is a similar cross in the Grainger collection, Belfast, of rather ruder execution, bearing the date 1711. It evidently came from the same vicinity. Other examples would be interesting to note.

Ulster Emigrants in 1803.

The following lists have been copied in the British Museum by H. H. Ball, of Ealing, London.

Addit. MS. 35932, Hardwicke Papers Vol. DLXXXIV. Lists of passengers sailing from Ireland to America, with particulars of age, occupation, and place of abode, as sworn by the masters of the several vessels, 1803-1806. Paper ff 233, Folio.

Passengers who intend going out in the American ship Eagle, Andrew Richer, Master, for New York. Burthen per Register, 257 Tons.

Name	Age	Residence	Occupation
Alexander Radcliffe	23	Ballyroney	Farmer
John Menter	28	Belfast	Labourer
William Calvert	33	Killeagh	do.
Ann Calvert	24	do.	Spinster
James Bryson	27	Kilrock	Farmer
Peter Leonard	28	Hillsboro'	do.
William Logan	36	Dromoir	Labourer
Thomas Bain	18	Downpatrick	Farmer
Joseph Webb	25	Cookstown	Labourer
William Wilson	22	Derrylea	do.
Margaret Wilson	20	do.	Spinster
William Kineard	52	do.	Farmer
Robert Kineard	18	do.	Labourer
William Hancock	19	do.	do.
Thomas Wilson	23	Armagh	do.
James Drennan	19	Cavehill	do.
John English	40	Tynan	do.
Isabella English	32	do.	——
William Kerr	18	do.	Labourer
George Lyster	25	do.	do.
James Lister	20	do.	do.
John Graham	24	Tynan	Labourer
Thomas Spratt	50	Clough	Farmer
John Brown	24	Saintfield	do.
Samuel Campbell	18	Banbridge	Labourer
Charles Martin	20	Ballynahinch	Farmer
Robert Halbridge	16	Ballymoney	Clerk
Robert Eakins	38	Coleraine	Farmer
William Rafield	23	Ballymena	do.
William Woods	27	Sea Patrick	Labourer
Archibald Kidd	20	Keady	do.
John Shields	20	do.	Farmer
John Cully	24	do.	do.
David Clements	22	do.	do.
Andrew Clements	20	do.	do.
William M'Alister	20	Ballycastle	do.

I have no objection to the ship clearing out.

A Copy.
C. Skeffington.
Com.

R. Hill,
Col. Commg. the Forces
at Belfast.
Belfast, 6th April, 1803.

(Endorsed)
List of Passengers by
the ship Eagle for
New York from
Belfast.
Permitted
29 March, 1803.

A List of Passengers to go on board the American Brig Neptune, Seth Stephens, Master, for New Castle and Philadelphia. Burthen per admeasurement, 117 Tons at Warrenpoint.

John Grimes	Labourer	years aged	28	Susan Dene	Spinster	years aged	18
Agnes ,,	his wife	,,	26	David Gallon	Farmer	,,	40
James Crummy	Farmer	,,	45	John Henry	do.	,,	40
Agnes ,,	his wife	,,	30	Hanna ,,	his wife	,,	30
Mary ,,	their daughter	,,	15	Nancy ,,	their daughter	,,	13
Sarah ,,	ditto	,,	12	James ,,	their son	,,	11
James ,,	their son	,,	6	William Corenter	Labourer	,,	26
David ,,	do.	,,	4	Mary ,,	his wife	,,	21

Seth Stephens, Master of the Brig Neptune, came this Day before me and made Oath to the Truth of the above.

Sworn before me, Custom House, Newry, 29th March, 1803.

SETH STEPHENS.

A. CARLETON, Comr.

(Endorsed—
1803, April 12.—List of 16 Passengers by the Brig Neptune from Warren Point to Newcastle and Philadelphia.)

List of Passengers on board the Ship Margaret, of which Thomas Marsh is Master, burthen 300 Tons, bound for New York in America.

Numbers	Name	Ages	Occupation
1	Eliz. Brothers	44	
2	Mary Brothers	19	
3	Samuel Brothers	12	Labourer
4	James Brothers	10	
5	William Brothers	7	
6	M. Ann Anderson	30	
7	Mathew Doubly	12	
8	James Farrell	30	Labourer
9	Eliz. Farrell	22	
10	Wm. Farrell	3	
11	James Harkness	40	Labourer
12	Jane Harkness	36	his family
13	Thos. Harkness	12	
14	Margt. Harkness	10	
15	Abigail Harkness	8	
16	Sarah Harkness	10	
17	Robt. Harkness	6	
18	James Harkness	4	
19	Eliz. Story	47	
20	Ben Story	18	Farmer
21	Ann Story	16	
22	Hugh Alexander	29	Labourer
23	Jane Alexander	22	
24	Jane Alexander	3	his family
25	Sarah Alexander	2	
26	Robert Gooey	20	Farmer
27	Saml. Douglas	18	do.

Numbers	Name	Ages	Occupation
28	Thomas Harten	19	Labourer
29	John Rolston	27	do.
30	Ann Beard	24	
31	Ann Beard	2	
32	James M'Clean	60	Farmer
33	Eliz. M'Clean	60	
34	David M'Clean	24	Labourer
35	John M'Clean	22	do.
36	George M'Clean	28	do.
37	William Riddle	19	do.
38	Samuel Magil	21	do.
39	Samuel Magil	39	do.
40	Biddy Enery	35	

(Usual oath.)

18th April, 1803.

THOMAS MARSH.

H. HILLAM,
Comr.

(Usual endorsement.)
From Newry.

List of Passengers intending to go from Belfast to Philadelphia in the Ship Edward; burthen 231, 86/95 Tons per Register.

Names	Ages	Occupation	Names	Ages	Occupation
James Greg	46	Farmer	James Fox	40	Labourer
Thomas Greg	18	do.	Patk. Mooney	16	do.
John Greg	19	do.	James Tower	22	do.
Thomas Fleming	19	Labourer	James Burns	20	do.
Hugh Porter	24	do.	Robert Labody	32	Gentleman
John Martin	21	do.	Hers. M'Cullough	27	Farmer
Alex. M'Meikin	21	do.	Wm. Scott	22	do.
Wm. Dunn	30	Farmer	James Kirkman	40	do.
Thos. Monks	60	do.	Wm. Bingham	40	do.
Robt. Monks	22	do.	James Bingham	14	do.
Joseph Monks	20	do.	John Norris	16	Labourer
Thomas Monks	17	do.	Hugh Murphy	18	do.
John Smith	20	Labourer	Edwd. Wilson	18	Gentleman
Hu. M'Bride	26	do.	Ardsal Hanlay	24	Labourer
W. M'Bride	25	do.	James Read	23	do.
W. Dawson	28	do.	Jos. Haddock	27	do.
Jn. Craven	25	do.			

Usual oath at Belfast.

No date.

GEORGE CRAIG,
Master.

C. SALMON,
Cor.

(Usual endorsement.)
Dated
19th April, 1805.)

The Whites of Dufferin, and their Connections.

By Major R. G. Berry, M.R.I.A.

(Continued from p. 95, vol. xiii.)

THE following account of this territory is given by Marshal Bagenal, in a MS. in the State Paper Office endorsed Description of Ulster, 20th December, 1586, with some interlineations by lord Burghley:—

Diffrin, sometymes the enheritance of the Maundevilles, and nowe apperteyninge to one White, who is not of power sufficient to defend and manure the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most parte, by a bastard sort of Scottes, who yield to the said White some small rent at their pleasure. This countrey is for the most parte woody, and lieth uppon the Loghe which goeth out at the haven of Strangford. There are of these bastarde Scottes dwelling here some sixty bowmen and twenty shott, which lyve most uppon the praie and spoile of their neighbours. —U. J. of A., vol. ii., p. 153.

In a report by Sir Nicholas White, dated April, 1580, he says:— "The Irish Scots, after sowing their barley in their own barren crags of Scotland, come to Ireland and return home in the winter." In O'Clery's Life of O'Donnell they are described as clothed in "a mottled garment of divers colours, hanging in folds to the calf of the leg; with a girdle round the loins. Some of them are armed with large horn-hafted swords, hung over the shoulder. A man when he had to strike with them was obliged to apply both hands to the haft. Others carried bows, well polished, strong and serviceable, with long twanging leather strings, and sharp-pointed arrows that whizzed in their flight." These Scots were a great check to the English colonisation, and the Elizabethan statesmen did all in their power to get rid of them. Sir William Cecil, writing to the Lord Deputy, 25th February, 1566-7, states that "the queen of Scots, now an unfortunate widow, I cannot tell how, hath privily made assurance to the queen's majesty that she hath prohibited the coming of any more Scots into Ireland, and will speedily worke those that be there. My lord of Argyle promiseth to execute her commandment."

We first hear of Nicholas White, who became Master of the Rolls in Ireland, by a letter dated White's Hall, July 20, 1564, from him to Sir T. Wroth. He is again mentioned in a letter in 1566, but it is not until 1568 that we learn who he is. In that year he is mentioned in a letter, dated October 24, from Cecil, at Windsor, to lord deputy Sydney, and, in November 4, a letter from queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy directs him to remove Thomas Stucley and to admit Nicholas White to occupy the offices of seneschalship of Wexford and the constableship and rule of Leighlin and Fernes. In 1569, on January 18, there is a letter from the queen to the Lord Deputy directing him to issue a warrant to grant to Nicholas White the reversion of Dunbrody, Co. Wexford, the manor of Leixlip, and the parsonage of Baltinglass, in the county of Kildare, and the cell of St. Catherine's, in the county of Dublin, to hold by knight's service, with other abbey lands, and to admit him as a Privy Councillor. On the 9th April, 1571, he writes to Burghley saying that, as he is detained in Ireland for service, he encloses Rowland White's letter and book containing his scheme for reducing Ireland.

In 1572 there is a petition from Nicholas White to the queen, begging her majesty to accept certain lands in exchange for the rent of his fee farm of Leixlip and St. Katherine's, being 30l. 10s. per annum. And asking for some increase of allowance for the maintenance of his office at Wexford. Some time in this year he was appointed master of the Rolls. In 1573 the lord chancellor died, and the great seal was committed to the keeping of Adam Loftus, the queen's archbishop of Dublin, who also claimed the judicial authority, but White claimed it ex officio, on the ground that his patent as master of the Rolls gave him authority to hear causes during the vacancy of the lord Chancellor's office. The difficulty was got over by the appointment of a Dr. White, of Oxford, as lord chancellor. On July 17 Nicholas White writes to Burghley that there is great stir imminent, as opinion has it that her majesty is inclined to leave the land to Irish government, and desires permission to have six men of the garrison to attend upon his person.

It appears doubtful whether this Nicholas White was the son of Sir Patrick White, second Baron of the Exchequer, or a son of James White, of Waterford. Both Sir Patrick White and James White are said to be sons of John White, previously mentioned as lord of the Dufferin. Nicholas White is described in the Carew MS. as "a deep dissembler, greatly corrupt, and wilfully affected without regard to truth or equity." He died in the Tower, 1593.

In 1590, the family of the Whites are represented as greatly reduced in circumstances, being only able to raise one hundred and twenty footmen and twenty horse, a force declared quite inadequate to plant or defend the country. Eight years afterwards they were only able to muster

twenty footmen, and the owner is characterised as "one White, a mean gentleman, who is not of power sufficient to defend and plant the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited by the neighbours." This description, from the Lambeth MS., also says that the country is for the most part woody.

The following is a translation of an old inquisition respecting the title of the Whites to this barony:—

Ardwhin, 4th July 1605.—Patrick White, late of Flemington in the county of Meath, knight, second Baron of the Exchequer in this kingdom of Ireland, born of the English nation and race, was seised as of fee and of ancient inheritance of the manors and castles of Renescaddie and Killalagh, with their appurtenances; also of all manors, castles, towns, and lands in the territory or precinct called the Duffren, otherwise Duffrens, in the county of Downe, in the province of Ulster, which territory comprises in itself the towns, lands, &c., following:—viz., Ballinemona, Balliholliken, Ballimullagh, Corbally, the castles and towns of Ballycaslanwilliam, Ballinecabry, the castles and towns of Killaleigh, Tulloghmormartin, Ballyrathconevan, Ballymacorbal, the castles and towns of Rindoffrin, otherwise Moylerton, Ballyomeran, Ballynacarran, the castles and towns of Rathgorman, Ballikitinegan, Carrick-rouske, Ballinchey, Ballow, Ballimacoshen, Ballemackirelly, Balleogullone, Ballibregah, Ballileggan, Ballylishduffe, Ballicoy, Balliclevy, otherwise Clegh, Ballydrommore, Ballicoskrigan, Castlegaley, Lissonagh, Ballitoagh, otherwise Toy, Balligavan, Balliroyan; the castles and towns of Casclannegayse, Ballilegan, Ballimullin, Balliholliard, Ardogone, Ballyboynemery, otherwise Tollymery, Ballitarim, Ballireogh, Ballicooly, Rathkirin, Balliconnety, otherwise Cloney, Ballicargah, Tullyconysh, otherwise Knoise, Ballakillchanan, and Balliherman, and also of divers islands in Loughconn, viz., the islands of Ranchedy, and Rannys, Polle-ile, Read-ile, Contagh-ile, Much-ile, otherwise Ilandmore; Dunshagh-ile, Innismac, Inisdowran, and Ilanddarragh; and also of certain advowsons and churches, viz., the Rectory of Killinchinemaghery, Renechaddy, Killawreys, and Killaleagh, with all and singular their rights, members, and appurtenances. The aforesaid Patrick White, knight, being so seised of all the premises, by deed bearing date 24th September, in the second year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth, appointed Rowland White, his second son, his attorney, &c. The same Rowland White, by deed bearing date 12th October, in the aforesaid year, granted all the premises in the Duffren, otherwise Duffrens, to John Baker, of the city of Dublin, for the term of 21 years. Afterwards the same John Baker, by deed bearing date 3rd January, in the year aforesaid, granted to the said Rowland White, his executors and assigns, all his interest and term of years in the premises. Afterwards, Patrick White, late of Flemington, in the county of Meath, son and heir

of Nicholas White, son and heir of the said Patrick White, by deed bearing date 28th May, in the 8th year of the same reign, demised to the aforesaid Rowland White, all his right, claim, and interest, which he had in the premises aforesaid. The same Rowland White, being so seised of the premises, died in the city of Dublin, 10th August, in the 14th year of the late queen Elizabeth. John White, of Killaleagh, aforesaid, his son and heir, was then of the age of 23 years, and unmarried. The premises are held as of the manor of Carrickfergus by fealty.—*Inquisitions of Ulster.*

In July, 1610, John White, and his son, Nicholas, assigned these lands, castles, and advowsons to Sir James Hamilton, subject to the rent of £40, and the crown rent of 6s. 8d.

During a banquet given by Con O'Neill at his castle on the Castlereagh hills the wine ran short, and he sent some of his followers to Belfast for more. At Belfast there was an English garrison, and O'Neill's men falling foul of them lost the wine. In trying to recover it some of the garrison were slain, and Con O'Neill was charged with levying war against the sovereign and committed to Carrickfergus Castle. Con O'Neill's wife took refuge with Montgomery, laird of Braidstone, and offered him two-thirds of the lands of Castlereagh if he should procure pardon for O'Neill. By means of a rope concealed in a cheese sent him by his wife, and a boat held in readiness by Montgomery, Con O'Neill escaped from Carrickfergus, landed at Bangor, and shortly afterwards escaped to Scotland, where he was kindly entertained by Montgomery, who held him as a hostage for the due performance of the bargain entered into with his wife. Montgomery and O'Neill went to London, where the former was knighted and received from the king a grant of one-half of Con O'Neill's estate, and O'Neill received the king's pardon. Subsequently a portion of Sir Hugh Montgomery's grant was withdrawn, and one-third of the lands originally held by Con O'Neill were granted to James Hamilton, a political agent of James I. in Dublin. Con O'Neill now returned home, and Montgomery took up his quarters in the old castle at Newtownards. A little later Grey Abbey was sufficiently repaired for the reception of Lady Montgomery and her household, and the humbler settlers constructed shelter for themselves of sods and branches, roofed with thatch. The harvests of 1606 and 1607 were very abundant, and immigrants poured from Ayr and Scotland's western coast to people the fertile lands of the Ardes.

In addition to this grant of part of Clannaboy, from which he took his title of lord Clandeboye (so spelt in the grant by English clerks), he also got grants of the fishings of the Bann and Lough Foyle, and nearly all the abbey lands in counties Down and Antrim, some of which he sold to Sir Arthur Chichester and others, and with

the money he purchased from the Whites, then a failing family, the whole of their vast estates in the Dufferin, as set forth in the Inquisition of the 13th October, 1623, given below, for the yearly payment of £40. He seems also to have had other monetary transactions with the Whites, which are revealed at an Inquisition held at Downpatrick, 9th April, 1662.—Christopher Whyte, of Karrington, in County Lowth, was seised as of fee of a certain chief rent of £40 from the territory of the Dufferin, in County Down; also of a certain debt of £40 sterling, which both were due to the aforesaid Christopher Whyte by the late Viscount Claneboy, for which the aforesaid Christopher was to receive £60 yearly for his interest. And being so seised, the aforesaid Christ. Whyte, 30 [ ] 1642, at Killeleagh, in the county aforesaid, and at divers other places in the aforesaid county, was in actual rebellion, and continued in the same rebellion till the 10th September, 1648, and afterwards died; by reason whereof the premises have devolved upon king Charles that now is. The aforesaid king, by his letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, granted all the premises to Henry, now earl of Clanbrazill, and his heirs."

"Wee further find that Roland White, soone to Sir Patrick White, late of Flemyngton, in the county of Meath, Knt., second baron of his majesty's exchequer of Ireland, was seized in his demeasne as of fee, of and in the manor and castle of Renechaddy, *alias* Renogaddy, and Killileagh, with the appurtenances, and of and in all the manors, castles, townes, villadges, messuadges, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, water sloghs, pooles, ilands, fishings, and advowson of the churches, and of all homadges and services of free tenants, and all royalties, with other hereditaments whatsoever, with all and singular their rights, members and appurtenances, within the territories or countrie called the Duffrin, *alias* Duffrins, or the lordship of the same, within the said Countie of Down, in the province of Ulster, which said territorie doth contain these towns and hamlets following: viz., Ballinemona, Balleholleken, Ballemullagh, Corbally, the castle and towne of Ballecaslan-William, Ballenecabry, the towne and castle of Killileagh, Tulloghin-Rinduffrin, otherwise called Meylerton, Balleomerran, Ballynecarran, the Martin, Balle-Rathconevan, Ballemacorboll, the castle and town of castle and town of Rathgorman, Ballekiltmegan, Carrickrouske, Ballinchey, Ballowe, Ballemacoshen, Ballemackirelly, Balleogullone, Ballebregagh, Ballyleggan, Bally-Lisduffe, Ballecoye, Ballycley, *alias* Clegh, Balledromore, Ballecoskrigan, Castlegaly, Lisonagh, Balletoagh, *alias* Toy, Ballygavan, Balleeroyan, the castle and town of Caselannegayse, Ballyleggan, Ballemullin, Ballyholliard, Ardagone, Ballyboynemery, *alias* Tollymery, Balletrim, Ballireogh, Ballecoolley, Rathkirm, Balleconety, *alias* Cloney, Ballecargagh, Tullyconysh, *alias* Knoise, Ballykillchannan,

and Balleherman, with the appurtenances, and also of and in divers ilands in Loghcoyne, viz.: the Iland of Renechady, and Ranny's Polle Iland, Red-Isle, Conlegh-Island, Much-Isle, otherwise called Ilandmore, Dunshagh-Iland, Inis-MacTegart, Inis-Dowran, and Iland-Darragh, with the appurtenances; and of and in certain advowsons, nominations, presentations, and rights of patronage of the Churches or Rectories, viz., of the Rectorie of Killinchene-Maghery, of the Rectorie of Renchaddy, of the Rectory of Killaureys, of the Rectory of Killileagh, with all and singular the rights, members, and appurtenances; and the said Rowland White, being thereof so seized, and in actual possession, Patrick White, late of Flemington, in the countie of Meath, gent., sonne and heire of Nicholas White deceased, son and heire of the said Sir Patrick White, by his deed in writing in due form of law executed, and in evidence produced, bearing date the 23rd daie of Maie, in the 8th year of the raigne of our said late soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, did remize and release unto the said Rowland White, all his whole right, title, and interest of and in all and singular the said premises, and every parcell thereof; and that, likewise, John White, late of Ballergin, within the countie of Louth, gent., by his deed in writing, in due form of law executed, and in evidence likewise produced, bearing date the 23rd daie of April, in the said 8th year of the raigne of the late queen Elizabeth, did remise and release unto the said Rowland White, being [ ] of April 1603, enjeoffe [ ] Maghmore, by force whereof the said Patrick MacNabb was seised [ ] Cressecan, of and in the said half towne of Maghmore, and that they, the said Patrick MacCressecan and Patrick MacNabb, being so seized of the said half towne of Maghmore aforesaid, they the said Patrick and Patrick, by their deed, bearing date the 12th daie of November, in the 20th year of his majesty's raigne that now is, for valuable consideration, did enjeoffe the said lord vicecount Claneboy of and in the said halfe townland of Maghmore, *alias* Craigdowe, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, by force whereof the said lord vicecount Claneboy did enter, and was and yet is seized of the said halfe townland of Maghmore to him and his heirs for ever: We find further, thatt the said John White, at the courts in Dublin, before Sir William Weston, knight, and William Bath, then justices of our said late soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, of her Highness's court of common pleas in this realme of Ireland, and others her majesty's good and faithful subjects, did levie and acknowledge a fyne of all and singular the said premises, with the appurtenances, unto one Walter Dalton, and his heirs for ever, by the name of 7 castles, 200 messuages, 200 toffts, 3 water-mylls, 100 gardens, 7,040 acres of land, 200 acres of meadowe, 1,500 acres of pasture, 1,000 acres of underwood, 1,000 acres of moor,

and 12 weires and fishing places, with the appurtenances, in Ballemona, Balleholleken, Ballemullagh, Corbally, Balle-Rindoffrin, *alias* Meylerton, Balleomeran, Balleneccarran, Rathgorman, Ballekiltinegan, Carrickruske, Ballinchey, Balow, Ballimecoshen, Ballemackirrelly, Balleogullone, *alias* Balle-Angullen, Ballebregagh, Balle-Leggen, Balle-Lishduffe, Ballecoy, Ballechy, *alias* Balleclegh, Balledrommore, Ballecosskrigan, Castlegaley, Lissonagh, Balletoagh, *alias* Balletoy, Ballegavan, *alias* Scatterick, Balleroyen, Casselannegayse, Balleleggan, Ballemullin, Balleholliard, Ardagone, Balleboynemery, *alias* Tollymery, Ballitrim, Ballereogh, Ballecooly, Rathkirin, Balleconety, *alias* Cloney, Ballecargagh, Tollyconysh, *alias* Knoise, Ballekilchanan, Balleherman, Renechaddy, Kilaureas, Killinchie, Inis-MacTegart, I——, Iland-More, Iland-Dunshagh, Inish-Dowran, Iland-Darragh, Iland-Conlie, Iland-Rinhaddie, and the advowson of the churches of Killileagh, Killaureas, Renechadie, and Killinchie, in the said County of Down; and that the said Walter Dalton, by the same fyne, did grant and render the premises to the said John White and his heirs; and we likewise find, that the said John White, of all and singular the rest of the said manors, lordshipps, and premisses of the Duffrins, not conveyed to the said John MacCressecan as aforesaid, was seized in his demesne as of fee, and thereof being so seized as aforesaid, he the said John White, and Nicholas White his sonne and heire, together with John Allen, of St. Woolston's, in the Countie of Kildare, and James White, of Drogheda, Alderman, surviving feoffees of the said John White, for a good valuable consideration, by their deed of feoffment, in due form of law executed, bearing date the 1st daie of July, in the 8th yeare of his majesty's raigne, of all and singular the said premises did enfeoffe the said lord vicecount Claneboy and his heires for ever, to the use of the said lord vicecount and his heirs for ever, by virtue of which said feoffment, the said lord vicecount into all and singular the said premises did enter, and on the 8th daie of December last, was and yett is in possession of all and singular the said premises, with the appurtenances, and then and yett taketh and receiveth the rents, issues, and profitts thereof: We find further, that the said John White died, and that in the term of St. Michaell, on the octave of St. Martin of the said terme, in the 20th year of his majesty's said raigne that now is, of England, France, and Ireland, the said Nicholas White, at the king's courts in Dublin, before Sir Dominick Sarcefield, knight and bart., Gerald Lowther, and John Philpott, and others, his majesty's good and faithful subjects, did levie and acknowledge a fyne of all and singular the said premises, with the appurtenances, unto the said lord vicecount Claneboy and his heirs for ever, by the names of the manors of Killileagh and Ringhaddy, with the appurtenances, and of 10 castles, 1,000 messuages, 1,600 cottages, 200 toffts, 10 watermills, 1,000 gardens, 15,000 acres of

arable land, 1,000 acres of meadow, 4,000 acres of pasture, 10,000 acres of wood, 1,000 acres of moor, 1,000 acres of heath and furze three [ ] with the appurtenance in Ballemona [and his heires remized and and his heires for ever; and further, the said Nicholas White covenanted for him and for his heires, that they should warrant the manors, castles, tenements, fishings, and advowsons, with the appurtenances, to the aforesaid James lord vicecount Claneboy, his heires and assigns, against the said Nicholas, his heires and assigns, for ever, by virtue whereof the said James lord vicecount Claneboy is seized in his demesne as of fee, of all and singular the said premises, with the appurtenances as aforesaid: And we further find, that all and singular the said manors, castles, landes, tenements, and hereditaments of the said territory or countrie of the Duffrin, there were and are holden of our soveraigne the king's majesty, in fee and common soccage, as of his highness's castle of Carrickfergus, and by the rent of 6s. 8d. sterling, for all other services: And further, we find that there doth belong to the rectorie of the parish of Killinchie-Nemaghrie, in the said Duffrin, the tithes of the townes following, in the upper Clanneboy, viz., Carickman, Drumcreagh, Raffry, Killinchie-Nekelly, Ravarra, Ballencloghan, Levalle-Gowne, and Levalle-Achinderry alias Drumchaie: And we further find that the lord Cromwell claimeth the town and land of Balle-Clontogh, as supposed to be passed unto him from his majesty, and that his right, if any he hath, may be saved unto him: And we further find, that the said Frances, countesse of Kildare, claimeth the rectorie and tithes of Clontogh, in the Duffrin, and that her right, if anie she hath, maie be saved unto her.

(To be continued.)

The Ulster Civil War, 1641.

'The King's Commission' in the County Fermanagh.

By Thomas Fitzpatrick, LL.D.

[Matter interlined on the T.C.D. Manuscripts I place within brackets.]

IN many publications called "histories" it is alleged that, at Newry on the fourth of November, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neill and Ruari Maguire exhibited and published a document purporting to be a commission from Charles I. There has been much controversy whether this supposed commission was real or pretended. All writers who have touched upon the subject appear to take for granted that some such document, whether real or pretended, was published as aforesaid, and that copies were ordered to be sent to the Irish chieftains in all parts of Ireland.

One circumstance fatal to the usual accounts has not been noticed by any historian, so far as I know. *This "publication" is never mentioned in the depositions, being ignored alike by commissioners and deponents.* This aspect of the question I worked out with some detail in the *New Ireland Review* for August, 1904. The examinants from Newry and neighbourhood include Irish as well as English and Scotch residents, to whom the publication, if anything of the kind occurred, could not be unknown. Yet there is no indication that any one ever heard of that alleged incident of the fourth of November, or that any examiner ever put a question in reference to it. Amongst those examined by a committee of the Cromwellian High Court of Justice sitting at Carrickfergus in May and June, 1653, were Donnell Magennis (brother of Sir Con and uncle of the young Viscount Magennis of Iveagh), the acting Governor of Newry from the outbreak until the following May; Michael Garvey, Newry, sub-sheriff of the county Down for the year 1641; Henry Allen, constable of the town of Newry at the time of the rising and afterwards; together with a number of merchants and others residing in Newry at the supposed time and later. That such an incident could be unknown to those examinants is inconceivable, and it is no less inconceivable that they could all forget about it, or that their examiners would so pass it over.

There are indeed a good many stray allusions to "commission," "warrant," "licence," "authority," or "command" from the king; and to "commission" or "letter" from the queen. All these things, with many other allegations of inconsistent or contradictory character, are put forth as things which "the rebels" said or protested; and they who are easily satisfied on the matter of evidence may find something to favour whichever of the rival theories they happen to prefer. It ought not to be forgotten that the so-called evidence was collected *in camera*, without cross-examination and without any representation on the part of those who were accused or in any way implicated. In the extracts which follow, the reader cannot fail to notice how often the phrase "*or to that effect*" occurs. Indeed, there is in the circumstances no certainty that the terms attributed to "the rebels" were used by them. The Irish people of that period, with a rare exception, spoke only their own language—a language little, if at all, known to the British settlers. Add to this, that deponents were at liberty to put what construction they pleased upon what they may have heard spoken by individuals of the Irish party; and that the commissioners were deadly hostile towards the insurgents, and were the nominees and agents of those who were in sympathy and alliance with the king's most violent opponents in the English parliament. It appears to me, after long study of these documents, clear enough that, almost from the beginning the Parsons-Borlase commissioners laboured to implicate the king in the alleged "massacre," even when denouncing (as in the Remonstrance by Henry Jones, 1642) the pretensions of "the rebels" to authority from his majesty.

No one, I think, has ever imagined that a royal commission, real or pretended, was considered necessary to get up an insurrection in Ireland either before or after 1641. The words of James Henthorn Todd deserve the attention of those who may still put faith in the supposed Newry "publication" of the Fourth of November:

"Whenever a chieftain lifted his finger he was followed at once by his people. They followed him alike whether he supported the English crown, or the enemies of the English crown. They followed him even after the reformation in opposition to what we might presume to have been their religious prejudices. They fought with their chieftains on the side of queen Elizabeth, although she had been excommunicated by the see of Rome and her subjects absolved from their allegiance."*

The call of an O'Neill was sufficient warrant for the Irish of Ulster, especially when supported by representatives of the other ancient families.

At the expense of much labour and time, I have got together a fairly complete collection of allegations in the Depositions touching the question

*Todd, *Life of St. Patrick* (1864), p. 230; Dr. Charles O'Conor's *Historical Address*, p. 11; *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. 2.

of "the commission." Curiously enough, such allusions are more numerous in the counties of Fermanagh and Cavan than in all the rest of Ulster. The passages relating to those two counties, beginning with Fermanagh, I give (with references to the folio on which the particular examination begins) from my own transcriptions made in T.C.D. The matter may prove of interest from other points of view.

1. Robert Barton, of Newtowne, *al*^{s} Castlecoole,

Co. Ferm. fol. 73.

Further deposeth that some Irish Rebells neare unto Virginia in the way towards Kells did stripp this depont and sayd that they had a Newe Kinge, and had comission from him for what they did.—(Deposed Jan. 5, 1641-2.)

2. Mary Bennington, parish of Drumully, in the same county,

F. 74.

Deposed that some of the said Rebells in this depon^{ts} hearing sayd that they had the King's broade seale for what they did.—(Jurat, 7 January, 1641-2.)

3. Avis Braishaw, the wife of John Braishaw, parish of Drumully,

F. 81.

Deposeth, that shee hard Cahall boy MacDermott of Kilrout in the Barrony of Clankelly . . . say that Dublin Castle was taken and that they cold afford the English three or fower barrells of powder, and that the Irish wold have a newe Kinge within a fortnight after, Wch wordes, *or wordes to that effect,* he spake in the heareing of this depon^{t} Thomas Midlebrooke and Alice Tibbs the five and twentieth day of October afores^{d}.—(Deposed 4 January, 1641-2.)

(See number 20 below for Thomas Middlebrooke's statement.)

4. Patrick O'Brian, of the parish of Galoone, in the diocese of Clogher, "an Irish protestant," deposes:

And the said Con Oge MacCon MacHugh MacMahon sayd that the King knew of this rebellion, and that it was as hot in England and Scotland as heer at the same tyme. And he further sayd that all the nobility of this Kingdom which weare papists had a hand in this plott, as well as my Lo. McGuire and Hugh Oge McMahon, and that they expected ayd out of Spaine by one Owen Roe O'Neale, viz, 10,000 men and arms for as many.—(Deposed Jan. 29, 1641.)

At the time of the alleged conversation it is rather likely that "the king knew of this rebellion," and most of his subjects had also come to know of it. If the deponent's informant spoke so generally of "the nobility of this Kingdom who were papists," he spoke rashly, asserting what he could not certainly know.

F. 85.

5. John Brooke, of Newtown, in the county Fermanagh, referring to his own losses, deposeth:

And the said robbery was done by Rorey McQuire a captaine and his souldiers who stript the said deponent and his wife of their apparell, exposing them to the cold and burnt his house and all the houses of the towne, and spoke these traiterous words, [We are] the Queenes souldiers.—(Jur., 5 January, 1641-2.)

Who used the traitorous words? Not Rory Maguire or any one worth naming, it appears.

6. John Copee, also of the parish of Drumully, deposeth to

F. 95.

One Hugh O'Ratty (late servant to Henry Manning Esqre) uttering these words, viz., Wee have been yor slaves all this tyme, nowe you shal be ours, or words to that purpose.—(Deposed Jan. 5, 1641.)

7. William Cross, of Clankelly, proves to personal losses amounting to £144 10s.

F. 97.

And further this deponent saith, that at the time when hee was soe robbed, he demanded of the sd McGwiers what there reason was to use the poore English in that base manner: they answered that what they had done they had his Maties Comission to doe the same.—(Deposed 8 January, 1641-2.)

This seems positive enough; but as there was no cross-examination, it is by no means certain that the parties accused used the terms attributed to them.

8. The same remark applies to what Elizabeth Dewsberry, of Drumully parish, alleges:

F. 100.

Shee heard some of the said Rebells say, that for what they did they had the King's Comission for it.—(Jur., 7 January, 1641-2.)

This woman was illiterate; and it would be interesting to know what idea she had of a commission, and when she first heard of such a thing.

9. Elizabeth Dickson, of Clownish, heard some dreadful things:

F. 101.

And further deposeth that four of the sayd McGuire his company did, in the hearing of this depont say that the Scotts were to leave never a drop of English blood in England, and yt the Irish had comand to leave never a drop of English blood in Ireland, And that they were the Queen's souldiers. And further sayth that this deponents husband [named] Richard Dickson was one of the souldiers yt was sent to relieve Droghedah, in wch service she feareth her husband was lost. —(Deposed 3 January, 1641-2.)

Yet these dreadful rebels do not appear to have shown any desire for this deponent's English blood. Did she understand Irish? We may take it for certain that these nameless rebels used no other language.

10. The evidence of "George ffercher of Toneheige, parson of the parish of Cleenish," county Fermanagh, is, however, to the same effect:

F. 105.

I did also heare Con Og McMahon of the Countie of Monaghan and baronie of Dartrie say that what they did against the English was done by Comission from his Matie and that all the Scottish nation was joined with them in a covenant for extirpation of the English, And to that effect he said he was able to let me see the Earle of Argyle his hand together with the hands of ye greatest of ye pryme nobilitie of Scotland.—(Deposed Jan. 4, 1641-2.)

We may be sure that the expression "a covenant for the extirpation of the English" is not Con Og MacMahon's—that it is the deponent's own gloss on what he may have heard, if there is not also an improving touch by the commissioners or their secretary. I have no doubt "comission" is a substituted term.

11. Anne Gill, of Newtown, in the same countie, widow, deposes:

F. 113.

That when the said Rory Maguire had taken the church at Newtown aforesaid, he the said Rory, in the presence [and heareinge] of this deponᵗ and a great many of her neighbours, the Kings Maᵗᵗies lovinge subjects, gave forth that it was to noe purpose for them to flye to Dublin for succour, for Dublin was taken by the Lo. Maguire who was to be Kinge of Ireland.—(Jur., 29 Jan., 1641-2.)

It is not easy to see what occasion for a commission, or the pretence of one, from the King of England the people could have who were about to set up a king of their own. The widow appears to have heard more than her neighbours thought worth mentioning.

12. Robert Hancock, of the same town, relates, among other such things:

F. 115.

And at the same tyme some of them said (in the deponˢᵗ hearing) that they had the Kings broade seale for what they did, And that the next morninge, the English should be put out of the towne a Myle, and then be shott to death, wᶜʰ they shold have for breakfast.—(Deposed 8 January, 1641-2.)

Again the names are withheld. The words "wᶜʰ they shold have for breakfast" may be understood in more than one sense. But if uttered by any rebel he was clearly of no account.

13. Thomas Hypkisse, of Newtown, deposeth that

F. 119.

The Rebells that tooke his goodes sayd that they had the Kings Maᵗᵗies broade seale for doing of it, and they might take oʳ lives as well as oʳ goodes.—(Jurat, 30 December, 1641.)

This is one of the earliest depositions taken under the Parsons-Borlase commission of 23 December, 1641.

14. Edward How, of the parish of Galoone, in the diocese of Clogher, clerk,

F. 120.

Heard Donogh McQuire say (when hugh McMahon of the County of Fermanagh excused my Lo. McQuire, and sayd that others had persuaded him of late to stirre in this action), that my lord McQuire knew of it long before, and so did all the nobility and men of quality that weare papists in this Kingdom. Moreover, he heard Con og McCon McHugh McMahon of Aghneholagh and County of Monahan say, that if my Lo. lieutenant had not beene put to death they had not made this insurrection, and further [said] that ther was an act made by the [present] parlayment of England that all papists ther or elsewhere in this Kingdom should all goe to church otherwise be hanged at their owne doores, and therefore they would begin with us least we should begin with them heere as they did in England, for he sayd they had hanged a Jesuite in london which was the queenes chaplain.—(Deposed Jan. 29, 1641-2.)

The reverend deponent wrote out his own statement, and, I have no doubt, gives a truthful account according to his recollection of what he heard. It is to be remarked that he has nothing about a commission, or any pretence of one, from the king; and Donogh Maguire, who was uncle to the lord Maguire, had as good right to know all about that

matter as any of the nameless "rebels." While proving to his losses amounting to £194, this deponent, unlike many others, indulges in no hearsay stories about alleged murders and cruelties. The purport of his statement is that, rightly or wrongly, the Ulster Irish believed that, in their own case, they had sufficient warrant for their rising without any pretence of commission from the king or any one else.

15. John Kettle, farmer, of Newtown, or Castlecoole, who "in a boate of his owne gotte to Belturbet, where agayne he was robbed of his boate worth sixe poundes,"

F. 128.

Sayth that he heard at Belturbet some of ye rebel rout (but who they were he knoweth not) say that they had the Kings broad seale for what they did, and that if he this depont and other English then robbed went to Dublin they should loose all their heads on Dublin green, and that it was as bad in England as there.—(Jurat, Jan. 5, 1641-2.)

16. Thomas Knowles, of the same town, makes an important statement. He reckons his losses to "the sum of eight hundreth three score and thirteen pounds" by the means of Captain Rory Maguire, Donogh Maguire, and others "the four and twentieth day of October last past."

And then sent a note in writing vnto the English p'testants that for there refuge had betaken themselves into the church att Newtowne aforesd Requiring them in the King's name to yield vnto them there Armes weapons and towne, otherwise they should ffeele the strength of there forces swords, or to some such effect, Wch note was subscribed wth the names of Donagh Maguire and James Netherville, Captains, Vnto wch note theis p'testants sent an Answer desireing to see their Authority, wch they refused to doe. But that night encamped themselves neare vnto the said towne. And the p'testants fynding themselves weake both in men, p'vition, and munition, the next morneing was *(sic)* contented to yield there Armes uppon condition that they might have there lives app'ell and some of their goodes, Vnto wch the said Rebells Condescended and Agreed, But so soone as they had gotten the possession of the Church and the p'testantes Armes, they stript all or most of them and kept this deponᵗ and his wife and Abraham James and his wife prisoners within the said Church.

The four persons were, no doubt, retained as hostages; or, rather, the two men were, and their wives remained with them. We hear of no object for which thy were detained after the others, and they were not otherwise ill-treated. One would, however, like to have the opportunity of cross-examining this deponent on what follows:

And dureing this deponents Imprisonment with them, the said Hugh McMahon and one Patrick Maguire told this deponᵗ that they had Comission from his Maᵗʸe for what they did. And that the [like actions were] done throughout the whole Kingdom att that tyme, there plott haveing beene working for two yeares last past. And that certainly God had a great hand in the same. All places of the p'testants abroad being taken and yielded except three, viz Londonderry, Eneskillen and another towne, this deponᵗ nowe not remembering the name, And that these townes cold not longe withstand there forces because the Lord Maguire had taken Dublin Castle (as they said) the Satterday before, Otherwise if it had not been taken, and that there Plott had been discovered, the said lord Maguire had been with them againe upon Satterday aforesaid.

In this case we get the names of informants, but it is not so certain that we have got the terms used by them. The persistent use of "plott" and "protestants" (for "English") is in accordance with the practice followed in recording these examinations. The term "commission," it is likely enough, was the deponent's own or was suggested by the question put to him by the commissioners. That the Irish ("rebels" so-called) believed they were on the side of the king as against the "Puritants" is clear enough; and when their statements were reported behind their backs by hostile deponents, and recorded by commissioners more hostile still—hostile to the king no less than to the "rebels"—transformation was inevitable.

This deponent mentions a matter in connection with the discovery which I have not elsewhere seen:

And (his informants) further told this deponent, but for a naughty Irish woman that had discovered their Plott to Sr Willm Cole K^t^ upon the ffryday morning, Eneskillen had beene taken, But the said Sr William had broken down both the bridges and gotten into the Island to him both men and provition, And for the woman (that had discovered it), shee shold repent it, if shee cold be taken.—(Deposed Jan. 3, 1641. *Coram* Henry Jones and Roger Puttock.)

17. Grace Lovett, of Drumully parish,

Further deposeth that shee heard one of the company of Captain Rory Maguire (who as this depon^t^ heard was a ffryer) say that it was well this depon^t^ was comended vnto there company to save her life, for if shee shold goe for Dublin, it would be as badd, And if shee went for England it wold be worse (for said hee), Wee have the Kings broade seale for what wee doe, And the reason of our Riseing is because the Puritans preferred a peticon against us and cold not let us enjoy o^r^ Religion quietly, for wee stand for our lives, And if wee shold not have done this wee had all lost our lives upon one day, *or words to that effect.*—(Deposed Jan. 5, 1641-2, before Jones and Brereton.)

18. Anne Marshall, of Castle Waterhouse, county Fermanagh,

Further deposeth y^t^ the sayd Rorye McGuier and Lieutent Graham of Lisnaskea being in company with the sayd 200 Rebells, some of the sayd rebells most cruelly murthered William Marshall, husband unto this deponent, giving him six severall mortall wounds, And then sayd that the Scotts were at that tyme sent to leave never a drop of English blood in Ireland. And further deposeth y^t^ ye comon speech of the sayd rebells was y^t^ they were the Queen's souldiers.—(Deposed Jan. 3, 1641.)

There are numerous complaints against this Graham and some others of the name. Anne Meers, of Castle Coole, deposes that "the said Lieutenant Grimes (or Graham) revolted, being a protestant formerly, and also the said Carleton, both Scots fell from their religion to papistry."

William Marshall was probably killed or mortally wounded in defending his house against spoil. It does not appear that his wife was molested.

19. Maurice Middlebrooke, of Drumully parish, deposes that the rebels

F. 141.

Held swords, skeans and picks *(sic)* ag^t this deponent, threatening to cutt his this deponents throat, Saying that the English protestants had kept their lands from them, and hanged there priests and ffryers in England, And that they had comission from his Ma^tye to take the lands from the English Protestants and to banish them, W^ch was the cause of their Riseing and doeings.—(Jurat, 7 Jan. 1641-2.)

This deponent also states that the rebels told him "there were fforty thousand strong of their company at or near Dublin, and that neither he this depont his wife, children, nor any other of the English protestants could get into the said city." He also heard them say that "the lord Maguire had been in Scotland with the king, and had the commission from him there."

What the deponents heard "the rebels"—more especially the nameless ones—say makes indeed a great heap of stuff.

20. Thomas Middlebrooke, "of Leag-MacCaffry in the parish of Drumully," avers that

F. 142.

The six and twentieth day of the said month (October, 1641) he heard the said Cahall boy McDermott say that within one fortnight they should have a new Kinge of Ireland Crowned, one of the O'Neales, *or words to that effect,* W^ch was spoken by the said Cahall in the presence of Alice Tibbs this depon^ts sister, and Avis Braishaw wife to John.—(Deposed 4 January, 1641-2.)

(See number 3, above, for Avis Braishaw.)

21. Joan, the wife of Richard Morton, "of Derribeg in the parish of Drumully," deposes

F. 146.

And saith she heard some of them say that they were for the King, and that the King had comanded to doe what they had done, but (she) knoweth not the names of the partyes that spoke the said wordes.—(Deposed Jan. 3, 1641-2.)

This is at variance with what appears in the preceding extract. The "wicked and bloody Irish rebels" were wonderfully communicative as it appears.

22. John Perry, of Newtown, *alias* Castlecoole, in the parish of Drumully, deposeth that

F. 155.

He heard some of them say, that for what they did they had the King's warrant, and within a month the English shold have half there goods agayne and there lands at half the rent.—(Deposed 10 January, 1641-2.)

The news, it appears, was too good to be true.

23. Thomassin, the wife of John Pulsford, heard worse things from those who took her goods:

F. 156.

And at that time she heard some of the s^d Rebels say that the King gave them lycence to kill all the English men, and to stryp the women, but not to kill them.—(Jurat, Jan. 15, 1641-2.)

. . The rebels (if any) who said so were not likely to know much about the king or about the king's intentions.

24. Margaret Riddington, of Drumully parish, wife to Thomas Riddington, "now soldier gone down to Drogheda under captain Edward Aldrich,"

F. 157.

Heard some of the said company say that what they did was by the appoyntmt of the King, and that they had his authority for the same.—(Jurat, 8 January, 1641-2)

25. John Right, "butcher and innkeeper, late of Castlecoole," deposes:

F. 138.

This deponent further sayth that Rory Maguire showed to him and others whom he then robbed a parchment or paper wth a greate seale affixed, wch he affirmed to be a warrant from the king's matie for what he did. And he further deposeth that when he and his neighbours then robbed complayned of their miserable condition being robbed and stripped, the said Rory replyed, that if they were not content with what was done they should be worse within a few days.—(Jurat, January 5, 1641-2.)

If John Right (or Wright) had been subjected to cross-examination on behalf of Ruari Maguire, we should, I think, have a different story. It may be that Ruari Maguire exhibited articles of surrender to those on guard in the church of Newtown, *alias* Castlecoole. He could, perhaps, have produced some old title deed or charter belonging to his family. It seems to me, however, that, if any paper was exhibited, it related to the surrender. Ruari Maguire's version of the matter we have not; and it might put another face on the matter. Taking these stories and allegations as they are—that is, at the worst—they show how absurd is the oft-repeated charge that this "rebellion broke out in massacre." We hear a good deal about threats, and about the dreadful things "the rebels" meant to do. But these dreadful things could have been done in the first instance had the accused been so minded.

26. Ellen, wife to Edward Rogers, of Latrim, in the parish of Drumully, "a soldier that went down to Drogheda in his Matys service vnder the command of captain Edward Aldrich,

F. 159.

Further deposeth that she this depont and her said husband was the same day stript naked by the said Rebels, who said they wold drive the English to Dublin and then into the sea, And further said that they had the king's broad seale for what they did.—(Deposed Jan. 15, 1641-2, before Henry Jones and Roger Puttock.)

Jones, as head of the commission, was not likely to discourage exaggeration in preferring charges against "the rebels."

27. Thomas Sanders, of Drombrochus, in the parish of Clonally, deposes that they who dispoiled him

F. 160.

Threatened to kill the said deponents wife, and also spoke these traiterous words

that they did those things by the king's authority who gave them power not only to take away the wealth, but also to kill them.—(Jurat, 7 January, 1641-2.)

28. Mary Seaman, "of Drumconnor in the parish Kinawley," proves to losses, by Ruari Maguire's followers.

F. 161.

The three and twentieth day of October last, about seaven o'clock in the afternoon, who said that what they did they had the king's broade seal for it, And that the lord Maguire had taken Dublin Castle, and that ye deponent and the rest of the English wold be starved to death upon Dublin greene, *or words to that effect,* and took this deponents her showes and stockings from her.—(Deposed Jan. 5, before Hen. Jones and Hen. Brereton.)

29. Charles Shorter, "of Callohill in the parish of Kinawley," deposeth that

F. 165.

The said Rebells sayd that what they did they had the king's broade seale for it, and that they did it for the queene.—(Jurat, 5 January, 1641-2.)

30. Martha Slack, of the same place, referring to the rifling of her house, deposes:

F. 168.

I demanded wherefore they used me so to take all I had away, The answered, itt was not my case alone but the whole kingdom's, and what they did was by authority vnder the king's broade seale.—(Deposed 8 January, 1641-2.)

31. Thomas Graige, of Brenish, in the parish of Drumully,

F. 173.

Further deposeth that one Patrick Magwire and Johan my Gwire, of the said half Barrony of Coole, did say that the said Captain Rory had the king's hand for what they did, And that they were the queen's souldiers.—(Deposed 3 January, 1641.)

32. Alice Tibbs, of Ringvilly, in the parish of Drumully (4 Jan., 1641-2), repeats the evidence of her daughter, Avis Braishaw, and of her brother, Thomas Middlebrook. (Folio 179.)

33. Mary Tildesley, widow, "of the parish of Newtowne," deposes:

F. 181.

And for Traiterous words, shee heard them often say that what they did they were authorized by the king of England, and had his broade seale to shòw for it.—(Jur., 29 Jan., 1641-2.)

34. Richard Watson, of Morelogh, in the county of Fermanagh, gentleman, sworn, saith:

F. 183.

And the said Rebells, or some of them, at the first said they had authority from the king for what they did, but [would not show it to] this depont and his neighbours But [said] if they would deliver them their armes they should have [quarter] to goe away quietly, or els should stand to the sword.—(Jur., 13 Jan., 1641-2.)

(To be continued.)

Miscellanea.

INISMORE—CHURCH ISLAND—LOUGH GILL.

In July, 1907, I again visited Church Island and examined the old church there, which is described vol. x., page 166. I observed what I failed to note before—that the west gable bears traces of workmanship of different periods. Near the centre of it, about five feet from the ground, is a large, flat, smooth stone which appears to be the lintel of a cyclopean west door. It is also slightly chamfered. This is of importance in my mind, as dating some portion of the church to a much earlier period than the other architectural features would point to. I also observed considerable earth works in the vicinity of the church; so the place may have been a very early religious settlement of some importance.

FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

DAVID BAILIE WARDEN.

In my account of D. B. Warden, published in the February issue of this Journal, I was unable to fix the date of his birth more exactly than to state that he was the eldest of three brothers, the youngest of whom was born in 1778. Since my article was published, I have been favoured by Miss Sophia Warden with an account of her relative that appeared soon after his death, and had hitherto lain unobserved among her papers. In this sketch it is stated that he was born in 1772, and a notice of his death, at the age of 73, is quoted from an American newspaper published in 1845, which two statements correspond. It is true that an account of his life, published by the *Nation* in 1846, states that he was born in 1778; but this is the date of his younger brother's birth. Surely D. B. Warden was more than twenty years of age when he became an exile from his native country.

I understand that Warden's books were acquired by the State of New York for its public library, where they are still located, surmounted by his portrait.

W. T. LATIMER.

I find in the *Microscope*, Belfast, Joseph Smyth, 1799, a continued article commencing at page 29—*Notes taken in a tour from Glasgow to Loughlomond, Benlomond, &c.*, by D. B. W.—A.M. The account is well written in a sober strain by a student. The last part, page 348, is signed D. B. W.—N.A.M., which makes me think the writer was David Bailie Warden, who had been a student in Glasgow, where he got his degree. The article proves the writer to have been a close observer

—a student—given to letters, with a keen sympathy for humanity. He also interested himself in St. Patrick when at Dumbarton. Of course, the date of publication—1799—was subsequent, perhaps a year or more, to the writing of the article.

F. J. B.

LORD CASTLEREAGH'S FUNERAL.

From "The Croker Papers," Vol. i., p. 226. 8vo. London, 1884.

"JOHN WILSON CROKER TO SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON.

"*August 20th, 1822.*

"I am just come from poor Lord Londonderry's funeral. . . . in general there was no ill-disposition shown along the streets; but I am grieved and ashamed to say, that at the abbey door, when the coffin was taken out of the hearse, there was a *loud cheer,* a hurrah of triumph! In tone it was little different from the applause with which Lord Londonderry was last year received in the same place when that which is now a corpse was the second figure in the most splendid ceremony that this country ever saw.* I had all along been apprehensive of some insults, and had used my little endeavour to persuade the friends to have an earlier and more private funeral; but I confess I apprehended only a *scattered* disapprobation, groans or perhaps hisses; but the loud acclamations of joy from a considerable body of people I was totally unprepared for; and some persons within the abbey, deceived by the sound, thought it was a shout for the Duke of Wellington.

"Ever yours,

"J. W. C."

*The coronation of George IV.

The writer, John Wilson Croker, secretary to the Admiralty, and sometime M.P. for Downpatrick, was the principal wire-puller of the court party of that day, and the late Lord Beaconsfield has given a life-like sketch of him in the "Mr. Rigby" of *Coningsby*. His testimony is valuable as confirming the description Collett gave of the funeral, previously copied. The recipient of the letter was keeper of the privy purse, private secretary and physician to George IV.

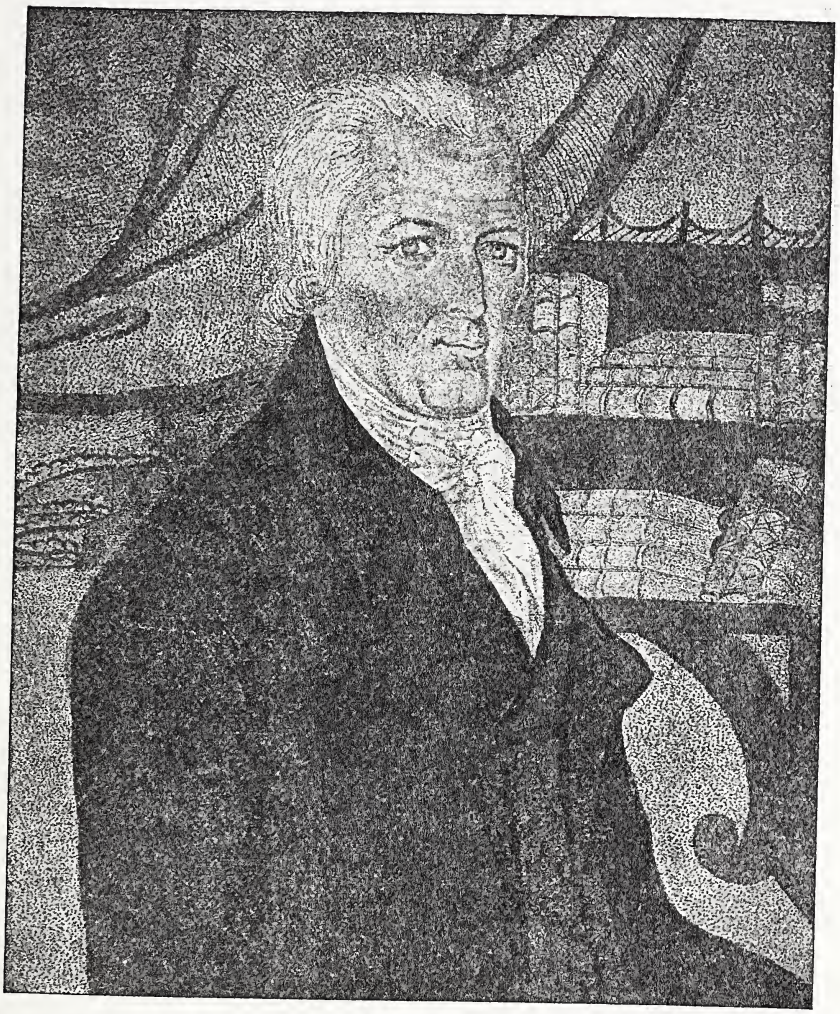
J. S. C.

QUERY.

AODH O'NEILL.

Dr. Leland, in his preliminary observations to the History of Ireland, affords a striking proof of the antiquity of the linen manufacture in Ireland. His words are: "Irish writers minutely describe the ancient dress of their country; the vest, the trowse, the mantle, the enormous LINEN sleeves dyed with saffron, &c. And in a picture of the famous Earl of Tyrone, drawn in Spain, after his banishment (which picture is said to be in the possession of an English nobleman) one of his gally-glasses is represented as attending on him exactly in the dress above mentioned."

The above is taken from *Ireland exhibited to England,* by A. Atkinson, London, 1823. Can any reader give information regarding this portrait of the great earl? —ED.



Painted and Engraved by R. W. Dyke, Crayon and Miniature Painter, No. 64 Mill St., Belfast.

REV^{D} HUGH O'DONNELL.

ULSTER JOURNAL
OF
ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XIII. NOVEMBER, 1907. No. 4.

Hugh O'Donnell,

Parish Priest of Belfast. 1770-1814.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

HUGH O'DONNELL was the son of Roger O'Donnell and Eleanor Magill, of the Glore, near Glenarm, in the Glens of Antrim. The O'Donnells were of the old Tir-conail clan. The father was born in 1707 and Hugh in 1739. He received the first of his education from his father, a man having much of the culture of the old Irish families. Subsequently, he was instructed by a hiding priest in the Glens. The catholic religion was then totally prescribed by law, and education forbidden. The enactment declared: "If a catholic kept school or taught any person, protestant or catholic, any species of literature or science, such teacher was, for the crime of teaching, punishable by law by banishment, and if he returned from banishment, he was subject to be hanged as a felon." If a catholic child received any instruction from a catholic, such child forfeited all its property. If any catholic youth went abroad for education the punishment was the same. It will thus be seen that young Hugh O'Donnell and his teacher ran dangerous risks in acquiring and imparting knowledge.

Notwithstanding this, in 1760, Hugh escaped from the country and proceeded to Salamanca, in Spain, to finish his education. Many O'Donnells had fled before him to the same land, so his name and race were not unfamiliar there. Aodh Ruadh himself had fled thither, to be followed by an English assassin, and slain by poison at Valladolid; but his namesake of the Glens had better luck, laying no claims to his paternal land, now parcelled out amongst innumerable planters. In 1770, having received holy orders, he came to Belfast, and ministered for some time under the old thorn in Friar's Bush graveyard, there being no catholic place of worship permitted in the town. It is said

OPENING OF ST. MARY'S CHAPEL, 30TH MAY, 1784.

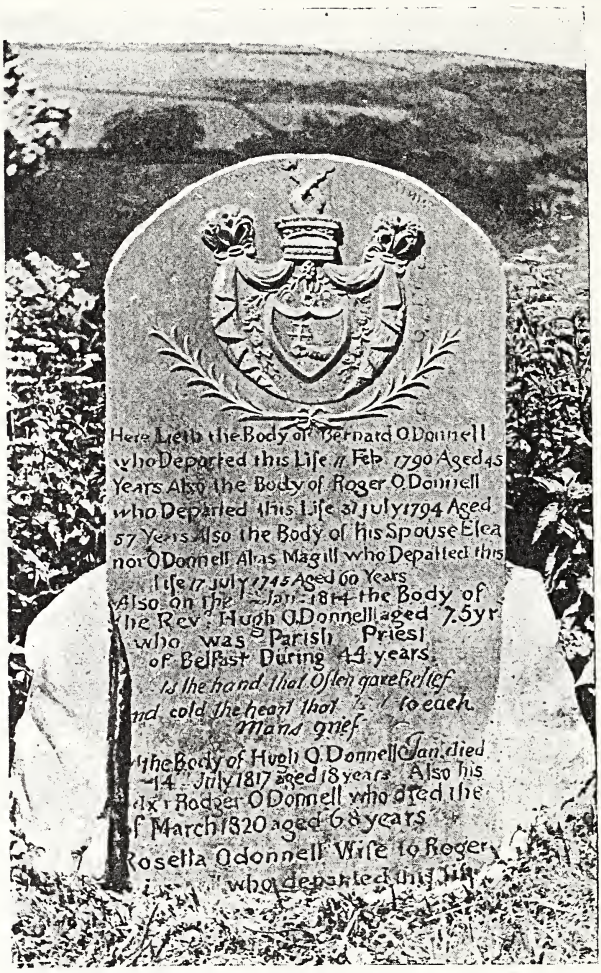
that Hugh O'Donnell was the first priest in Belfast to perform his duties publicly. In this he was favoured by the feeling of the times The volunteers created a spirit of religious freedom, as well as nationality, wherever they assembled, and no place more so than in Belfast They resolved—"As christians and as protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their catholic fellow-subjects."

The rev. Hugh O'Donnell had acquired on lease an old shed in Mill street for worship. When selling it, the advertisement in the *News-Letter*, in May, 1784, described it as suitable for a "malt kiln,

warehouse, or factory," with an entry leading to it, and forty feet of ground. So its area or accommodation was not extensive.

The first chapel in Belfast was built in Chapel lane by the rev. O'Donnell, and it was dedicated on the 30th May, 1784. That was, indeed, a great day in Belfast. The Belfast Volunteer Company, under captain Waddell Cunningham, attended the ceremony in full dress. The writer is proud to say that his grandfather, David Bigger, as one of the volunteer merchants of Belfast, was present on that occasion. Other battalions were also present. These protestant volunteers lined the chapel yard as the rev. O'Donnell passed through their ranks to celebrate the first mass, presenting arms as he passed, amidst a scene of great enthusiasm and perfect good feeling. No historic picture gallery in Belfast can be perfect until this scene is given the place it deserves as one of the proudest traditions of the city. Not only did the volunteers attend, but they largely helped to pay for the building, and the pulpit was presented by the rev. William Bristow, the vicar, and for several years sovereign of Belfast. I have heard a curious tradition that is worth recording in regard to this pulpit. The vicar was unable to lay the ghost of John Greg, who was a great land-grabber in his day, taking much land over the heads of the tenantry adjoining Belfast, which caused considerable agrarian trouble at the time. In a 1783 map a Greg is marked as residing at Ballysillan. The rev. Bristow called to his assistance the rev. O'Donnell, and between them the job was done, and the spirit of John Greg was laid at rest, and his household given peace. We are not told where the uneasy spirit of the grasping John was stayed, nor are we told why the vicar was unequal to the work, nor why priest O'Donnell was, but we are told that vicar Bristow made the present of a pulpit to his friend O'Donnell, as a slight recognition for the help he received in regard to the laying of the ghost of his erring parishioner, John Greg. Of course, it is quite possible that the liberal spirit of the times had more to do with the vicar's action than anything else. Be that as it may, the pulpit was presented, and John Greg did die in 1783.

Hugh O'Donnell died on the 1 January, 1814, in his 75 year, at Springbank, near Hannah's-town. The body was removed to St. Mary's, and thence taken by road to Glenarm, where it was buried in the churchyard, beside the ruins of the old Franciscan friary, where



STONE AT THE GRAVE OF HUGH O'DONNELL IN GLENARM.

the protestant church now stands. The stone at the grave has the O'Donnell arms, and beneath, the following inscription:—

Here lieth the body of Bernard O'Donnell
who departed this life 11th Feb 1790 aged 48
years Also the body of Roger O'Donnell
who departed this life 31 July 1794 aged
87 years Also the body of his Spouse Elea
nor O'Donnell alias Magill who Departed this
life 17th July 1785 aged 69 years
Also on the 1st January 1814 the Body of
the Revd Hugh O'Donnell aged 75 yrs
who was Parish Priest
of Belfast During 44 years
Closed is the hand that often gave relief
And cold the heart that beat to each man's grief
And the body of Hugh O'Donnell Junr died
the 14th July 1817 aged 18 years also his
father Rodger O'Donnell who died the 10th
of March 1820 aged 68 years
Rosella o'donnell Wife to Roger
O'Donnell * * *

Old St. Mary's was removed in 1868, and the present church erected.

The Hills of Hillsborough.

A Bedell Bible.

The patriot lord Downshire.

The following is the title page of an Irish Bible in the library of Hillsborough castle:

The BOOKS of the

OLD TESTAMENT.

Translated into IRISH by the care and diligence of

Doctor WILLIAM BEDEL

Late Bishop of Kilmore in IRELAND

AND

For the publick benefit of that nation

Printed at London, Anno Dom MDCLXXXV.

Written on the fly leaf of this Bible is the following:

This Booke was sent me
by Mr. Robert Boyle the
27th 10th 1686.

On the next leaf is written:

The Memorandum in the preceeding leaf
was written by that eminent Prelate and Statesman
the Lord Primate BOYLE
who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland 22 years
It was a presentation copy from
the learned and munificent editor
the Honourable ROBERT BOYLE
at whose expense &c this curious IRISH
BIBLE was printed.
After the lapse of a century
having been happily recovered by Dr. T. Percy
Bishop of Dromore this book is
with very sincere respect and regard presented
to his Grace's lineal descendant and representative
WILLS Earl of HILLSBOROUGH
who inherits from the Primate both his
estate at Blessington and his
Filial love and reverence for
the Established Church of IRELAND
which his lordship hath ever manifested
By his exemplary attendance on its worship
By the numbers he hath added to its communion
By the young members he is training up in its schools
By the glebes he hath given to its clergy
And by the many beautiful churches
he hath built and adorned
for its Holy Service

Dromore House
4th Octobr 1788.

The above earl of Hillsborough was created marquess of Downshire the succeeding year, 1789, and died 1793. He married Margaret Fitz-Gerald, sister of the first duke of Leinster, who was the father of lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, thus making "the patriot lord Downshire" a cousin of the patriot lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, with a striking personal similarity. Their grandmother was Mary O'Brien, daughter of lord Inchiquin.

The history of the patriot lord Downshire is well known; how he was treated by lord Castlereagh for his patriotic efforts, and how his actions were vindicated by his native county at the election in 1806, when the Hill nominee defeated lord Castlereagh then in the heyday of his career. Many squibs and pamphlets were published at the time, which are still to be had, though rare. The following record, however, of lord Downshire's death has not hitherto been printed. It is taken from the records of the Hillsborough parish church by the rector, the rev. canon Kernan, and clearly evidences the local esteem in which lord Downshire was held, as voiced by the parish clerk of Hillsborough.—Ed.

Extract from the vestry book of the parish of Hillsborough, county Down:

"On the 7th day of September 1801 Died in his castle in Hillsborough at the hour of five by the clock in the evening Arthur second Marquis of Downshire &c, &c, &c. See same date in the following pages.

"On the 13th day of September 1801 was interred in the Downshire Family Vault in Hillsborough Church the body of Arthur the second Marquis of Downshire, &c, &c, &c.

"Prayers were read on the occasion by the Reverend Mr. Bristo of Belfast, and a sermon preached by the Reverend Doctor Percy Bishop of Dromore.

"He with his fallen country fell a Martyr in its cause. With infernal fury persecuted but never conquered. He died fuller of Faith than of Fear, fuller of Resolution than of pain, fuller of Honour than of Days.

"He died in the 48th year of his age having lived to the Glory of God, the honour of his king and the good of his country, Having been during his Life the most strenuous defender of the Bible, the Throne, our glorious Constitution and the nursing Father of the people.

"And no mean passion lurked within his soul
But Amor patriæ occupied the whole.
Reader go thou and do likewise.

The Ulster Civil War, 1641.

'The King's Commission' in the County Fermanagh.

By Thomas Fitzpatrick, LL.D.

[Matter interlined on the T.C.D. Manuscripts I place within brackets.]

(Continued from page 142.)

35. The relation of Nicholas Willoughby, "of the Carrow, in the half barony of Coole, in the county of Fermanagh, parish of Galoone, *alias* Dartry," is interesting, and rather remarkable for the absence of allusion to the commission or any pretence of authority from the king:

F. 184-186.

And further this deponent saith, that the said Donogh* came unto my house at the Carrow, in fermanagh, about the latter end of October [1641], and with him about 20 foot and horse about night fallinge, and after him came Rowry McMahon, [Who] sitting at the table, Donogh McQuire sayd that he did not know of this plott, and was not acquainted with it, sayd that he had a pretty competent estate and might live well on it, and could wish it had never been begun, But seeing he was now entered into it with the rest, he would not give over but fight it out unto the last man, and (as I remember) sayd that if ther weare any violence or hurt offred vnto my lo. of Enniskillinge that ther would many others pay for it.

* Donogh Maguire, uncle to lord Maguire.

This statement, being in the first person, was evidently drawn up by the deponent himself, or by some one from his dictation, and is therefore a more faithful representation than if it had been put in writing by the commissioners or their scribe. Willoughby continues:

And after supper the said Donogh McQuire and Rowry McMahon and one Hugh McMahon called me into my bedchamber, and ther was with me one Patrick O'Birne, and the said Donogh asked me what money or gold I had or could fech him. I told him I had not much but I had some, but he could not expect much money from me in regard I had been a dweller there [but] a [short] tyme, as they themselves did know, and found it a naked place, and layd out at least fowre or five hundreth pounds in buyldinge fencinge and plantinge, and besides I kept in my own hands and vnder my owne stocke within the counties of Monaghan and fermanagh above fifteene tates of land which would containe a good stock, which stock they of both counties had amongst them, and by these occasions could not expect much moneys from me. [But] the sayd Donogh did put me to my oath what money or gold I could fech him. I told him I had the matter of two hundred pounds and upwards, [Whereat] he grew very angry and sayd he did not care for it at all, but swore that I must gett him more, or he would make the best bon in my body pay for it (or to that effect); and I seeing him so angry, and being afrayd he would take my life, I told him of some gold above three hundreth pounds that was hidden in my water pump, and promised to show it him the next morning, which I did, [And] thinketh *(sic)*, as I verily believe, they had of me hard vpon six hundreth pounds, but directly how much I cannot tell.

And the next morning the sayd Donogh and Rowry went their wayes, and their followers, only there was some left in the house to keep [the depont and his family]; and that morning they and their followers caryed away some of my horses and some other things but directly what it was I know not. Allsoe that night they did putt up some plate lynen and apparell and some other of the cheefest things such as they best liked into some chests, lockt them up and took with them the keys, but what things they took directly, I know not, for I was not present.

And about a day after or two the sayd Rowry sent some people in the night to fech them what he or they liked; and about some six or seaven weeks after, the said Donogh and his wife and children came vnto my house to the Carrow and ther dwelt, where I and my wife left all of howsehold stuff, bedding and furniture and all the rest of the things belonging to the howse and was in the house but only what was formerly stolen and caryed away by the people that went to and froe, and allsoe all the corne in haggard in stack on the land and that was not formerly stolen or taken away.

I have followed this narrative so far for various reasons. In the first place, it shows that (as I have elsewhere contended) the reproach of the insurrection of 1641 is pillage and not massacre or deliberate murder. It shows also that the English were not all cast out at the first rising, and that the "spoil" was not all then committed, but at several times and by different parties, as also appears by various other examinations relating to other counties. What at present more directly concerns us—it shows that the leaders who took possession of this deponent's house made no pretence of commission or authority from the king or from any one outside their own body. "Afterwards," he says in continuation, "the said Donogh gave me my wife and company a pass and leave to come away." He also states:

Con Oge MacMahon sayd that all the counties in Ireland weare in action or rebellion as well as Monaghan and fermanagh, and that there was warr in England and Scotland between the papists and them.—(Deposed February 23, 1641-2, before Henry Jones and William Hitchcock.)

Con Oge MacMahon, it appears, did not think commission, or pretence of one, necessary in Ireland any more than in England or Scotland to encourage civil war.

36. Anne Bond, of Relagh, in the county Fermanagh, widow, deposes that they who dispoiled her and her husband

F. 190.

budd this depont depart the countrie without delay, otherwise they would murther them, saying they had good authority to take the English goods and banish them, *or to that effect*. Since wch tyme her husband went with the 600 souldiers towards Tredarth and was (as she is verily p'swaded) slaine in that martch. —(Jurat, 22 Julii, 1642.)

37. Francis Wine, "of the parish of Clowniss and county Fermanagh," deposeth that he heard

F. 251.

The said Owen MacPatrick say that they had the King's comission to do what they did, Wch pretence the depont was and is confident to be most false.—(Jurat, primo Nov., 1643, coram Hen. Jones et Hen. Brereton.)

38. Very noteworthy is the silence of the approver, Brian Maguire, about commission, authority or anything of the kind from the king. On the 13th day of June, 1643, this man was examined in Dublin before sir Gerrard Lowther, kt., chief justice, and sir Robert Meredith, of the court of exchequer, "two of his majesty's justices of peace for the countie of Dublin":

F. 252-253.

Whoe being sworne and examined, saith that about the tenth of October 1641 hee this exam vnderstood by a ffryer called ffarrell oge McAward that there was a generall purpose and resolution amongst the Papistes and Inhabitants of this Kingdome to take up Armes within a ffortnight after and then to seise on all the strongholdes throughout the Kingdom wch they purposed to reteyne vntil they might procure for themselves libertie of conscience and free exercise of the Romish Religion, Vnto wch Report hee this examt gave then more credit in regard hee had observed the vnusuall and frequent meeteing betweene the Lord McGuire, Sr Phelim roe O'Neale kt, Tirlagh oge MacHugh oge O'Hosie and others of the Chiefs of the Countrie and theire followers.

Whereupon hee this examt made knowne the said discoverie vnto Sr William Cole kt And this examt further sayth that soone after, the Lord McGuire going vnto Dublin there to perform his part of the worke, Rorie McGuire brother vnto the said Lord went from the Castle of Creveinsh in the countie of ffermanagh over Logh Herne, and there he moved and stirred vpp into Rebellion, the Hosies the fflanegans and other septs of the Irish inhabiting that side of the Lough, Of whome he tooke an Oath that they should rise in Rebellion wth him, and directed the said Septes to begin to fall vpon the spoile and pillage of the British as soon as they saw the Towne of Lisnaries* on fire, Wch accordingly being set on fire on the xxiiith of October 1641 by the said Rorie MacGuire, The said Septes pillaged the British, and in particular the Lord Hastinges house called Lisgold. And this examt saith that vpon the same day Richard Newgent who married the Ladie Dowager of Iniskillen, Patrick *(blank)* MacCaffere, by the appointment of the said Rorie, took possession of Mr. Hugh Dace his house and towne in the said Countie of ffermanagh called Archdalestowne.

Neither in the foregoing, nor in any other portion of this approver's statement, is there the remotest allegation of any authority from the king. As to the "discovery," the deponent makes some use of subsequently-acquired knowledge. It appears from sir Wm. Cole's letter of the 11th October, 1641, to the lords justices, that the writer had heard only of the unusual stir observed among the Irish chiefs in that part of Ulster. Lower down it will appear that this informer took part with "the rebels" for eight or nine months after the outbreak.

One further passage from the same examination:

And this examt further saith that about this time twelvemonth hee received a letter from one O'Relie, Titular Archbpp of Armagh, whereby hee this examt was directed to repaire vnto the said Archbpp there to take an oath of confederation sent from the Generall Assemblie or Counsell of the Rebells att Kilkenny, But this Examt not appearing according *(sic)* those directions, soone after the said Rorie McGuire came unto him this Examt and acquainted him that hee himself had brought the said oath from Kilkenny and that the whole Kingdom was to

* "Lisnarick" in certified copy of examination. Neither form appears on Census List of Townlands, etc.

joyne therein, And in case any should refuse to take the same the partie soe refuseing was to bee despoiled of his estate and suffer death, And that for the execution thereof there was a running army appointed and raised.

But this Examt being not satisfied with the contents of the said Oath desired tyme for three or ffoure dayes to resolve himselfe the better, In wch tyme hee this Examt quitt his owne habitation and went vnto Sr William Cole with whom he hath since remayned.

The time just referred to is in June or July, 1642. There was no general assembly at Kilkenny until the 24th of October following. A Synod had been held there 10th, 11th and 13th May of that year, when arrangements were made for holding the first General Assembly, a series of decrees regulating the conduct of the civil war agreed upon, and the oath of confederacy drawn up.

It is almost admitted by the deponent that, notwithstanding his relations with sir William Cole, he took part with the insurgents during those eight or nine months following the rising. It will be interesting to read in connection with the foregoing extracts what Dorothy, "late wife of Zachary Rampaine, of Aghrinagh, in the county of Fermanagh gentleman, deceased," has to say of the approver:

F. 247.

Being comen from thence to the said Captaine Atkinsons howse, or Castle where she and her husband had left some of theire howsehold goodes, the sd Brian McCoconaght Magwire had possessed himself of that howse and castle and all the Armes provition and goodes therein, And this depont was by his rebellious followers denyed to come into the said Castle at all, or to have any relief out of her owne goodes [soe as twoe of her children were starved to death], and she glad to fly away to save her owne liffe, And then she sawe her said husbands gelding with and in the custody of the said Coconaght Magwire att his owne howse in Templedassett: And she did see the said Brian McCoconaght Magwire (after he came in upon Sr Wm Cole's protection) to weare her husbands owne cloake, wch she well knew, and was left with other her husbands goodes at the said Capt Atkinsons Castle, Wch said Brian Coconagh Magwire is now in Dublin, and walketh vpp and downe in ye streetes amongst the Kinges leige people, as if he had not robbed any of the English nor beene an actor in the present Rebellion at all.—(Jur., 4 September, 1643.)

Dorothy Rampaine, I may add, has nothing to say about any allegation of authority from the king.

A note of Brian MacCuconact Maguire's subsequent history may be of some interest:

In the fifth volume of Thurloe's *State Papers* there is a letter from the Council in Ireland to the Protector, dated at Dublin, 16 June, 1656, and signed by Henry Cromwell, Matthew Thomlinson, Miles Corbet, R. Pepys, and Robert Goodwin, recommending "the petition of Brian Maguire, an Irish inhabitant of the province of Ulster, praying, in consideration of his eminent services in the time of the rebellion in behalf of the Commonwealth, and of his great sufferings thereby, he might receive in compensation thereof such marks of favour as was intended him by the late commissioners of the Commonwealth by their Order of the 21st of April, 1654, for a settlement of his estate of inheritance upon him, together with other lands forfeited to the Commonwealth, amounting in the whole to the yearly value of £50. . . . The said Brian Maguire (notwithstanding a Papist) was instrumental in

discovering the rebellion to sir Wm. Cole, knt., late deceased, and that he hath constantly adhered to the English interest to his own great hazard, . . . an aged person, and in extreme poverty. . . ." (Page 121.)

The dates show how tardily recognition of his services was accorded to the approver if, even in 1656, he obtained the coveted reward.

Among the many examinations in which there is no allusion to "commission," "authority," or anything of the kind from the king, I may mention those of captain Patrick Hume (1 April, 1654), Richard Fawcett (31 March, 1654), Cormac MacDonnell (30 June, 1654), which contain much information as to what the respective deponents allege they saw or heard. But if they heard of any commission or authority from the king, or the queen, or the pope, they appear to treat the matter as beneath notice. As these were examined before commissioners of the Cromwellian high court of justice, their silence on the subject is all the more significant.

Co. Ferm. Deps. f. 196.

Alice Champion, "the late wife of Arthur Champion, late of Shanogh,* in the county of ffermanagh, Esqre, deposeth:

And this Deponent ffurther saith that shee hath hard it spoken by the Rebelliouse Irish [in the sd county] that they had done nothing in this theire Rebellion but what they had the King's broade Seale to show for, and that the now Byshop of ("Derry" *erased*) Londonderry was to take the Cittie of Londonderry on theire behalfe, And that they had done nothing but what his Matie was privy vnto.

And ffurther ("saith that" *erased*) they sd [That] Sr Pheylemy O'Neeile ("had" *erased*) should be Kinge of Ireland, and that the sd Sr Pheylemy had Receaved Divers letters from his Matie to this purpose, that they went not about theire worke wisely ("whereof Donnagh Maguyre vnkle to the sd lord Maguyre" *struck out; then a blank left for about three words*). Likewise the sd Rebells said that the late Earl of Strafford was the first plotter of this ("treason" *erased*) theire Rebellious Rysinge ("of treason" *erased*), & if that the sd Earle had been living they should not have had so much trouble in vanquishing of Ireland as they had, & that the sd Earle of Strafford his sonn was gone over into England to Raise forces to come over againe into this Kingdome to Releeve & help them the sd Rebells.—(Jur. 14 Aprilis 1642.)

This extract is from the original deposition. There is a certified copy, in which the corrections are omitted. It is not clear whether the interlined words, "in the said county," refer to Fermanagh or Dublin county, the preceding sentences relating to the latter. The attempt to bring Bishop Bramhall, and Strafford, as well as the King, into this rebellion is interesting. The examiners were rather incurious about the names of those who could give information so important.

(To be continued.)

* Shannock Castle. In an attack upon this castle, the owner, Arthur Champion, and five other men were killed on the morning of 23 October, 1641.

An Elegy

on the Much Lamented *Death* of Quarter-master *Brice Blare;* Who died at *Strabane.* By a Northern Bard.

SCARCE had the Bells the News began,
That honest *Brice* his Threed had span;
But Wives frae *Cam's* to *Moran's* ran,
And rugg'd their Head,
Crying, Alass! we're quite undon,
Since Blare is dead.

Oh! Wha will hansel our New Tapp,
Or sit Twelve Hours without a Napp,
An when they scarce can turn the Capp,
Will reckon fair;
Trouth there is few cou'd e'er do that,
We' honest Blare.

We weel black'd Shoon, and dressed right Neat,
He'd cantily come o'er the Gate,
We' ane or two that was na bleat,
To tak their Mault;
And gin they stay'd till it was late,
'Twas ne'er his Fault.

For the first Hour, nae new made Priest,
Or maiden at a Christning Feast,
We' *Hicky Stick* hang at his Briest,
Cou'd be mair mim
Nae Ill he said, but bad the neist,
His Bicker trim.

But gin he pleas'd nae Ale or mug,
Nae Carle frae Congregation Tub,
Wad round a fault into the Lugg,
Of list'ning Sinner;
Or we' a mair Emphatick Shrugg,
Point out his Finger.

To Quart, or Glass, or Pint, or Flask
He'd tack the Wife or Lass to Task,
For Faults in either Maut or Mask,
Right weel he kenn'd;
He'd garr them Peg another Cask,
Their Hand to mend.

But gin it was right Nappy Beer,
Like it he by degrees wad clear,
And say, for seldom wad he swear,
Trouth its good ale;
Come Neighbours, will ye let us hear
Som Song or Tale

Then *Down the Tweed* he wad begin,
Whar some Lilt *Fethers,* others *Wing,*
Syne Thro' the Broom, the bonney Spring,
Batt Gallaway Water,
Wha wad not Laugh to hear him sing,
And shake it at her.

Here *Nansy* ends we' Grief opprest,
Ursty her kimmer thus Addrest,
Friends, Here's a Barrel o' the Best,
And e'er he's Caull;
Let's drink a Bumper o' the best,
To his Kind Saull.

Come, tak your Bicker, never think,
That I a Papist Health wad Drink,
I guess your Meaning by your Wink,
Ne'er fash your Heed;
Nean but a Jacobite wad shrink
To mind the Dead,

Nae whistling Winds thro' Chink o' Dore,
Or Winock-Breeds, did e'er before,
Sound sick a melancholy Glore,
As this sad Tale,
Now may we aw the Trade gee o'er,
O brewing Ale.

Curst be this bare goul Banns o' Death,
For stopping o' our dear Freend's Breath,
I wish our *Pate* and Willy beth,
Had paid the Fee;
For trouth it had been far less skaith,
To me and thee.

Sterrard, they say, foul fa his Heed,
Three twal Months sine fortall his Deed,
But, ah! it was ne out of Feed,
He lov'd him weel—
And bid him mix we carefou heed,
His Maut wi Meel.

But he unwilling to oppress
His stomach, ay eat less and less;
And it was this, as most Foks guess,
That wrought his Feed,
For he us'd neither Teeth nor * * * *
Lang e'er he Deed.

Good Freends, let me advise you all,
Wee Fish, or Flesh, or Mutton Spaull,
We' Beef, cram weell yer Money-saul,
Then never shrink,
Or fear yer * * * * shou'd be mad cald
We muckle Drink.

Now, fare ye weell, my dear Freend *Blare:*
To part with Thee, my heart's right sair;
But this I'll say,— And say ne mair,
For a thy Thirst;
Thou was as Honest and as Fair,
As ever Curst.

The Epitaph.

WHA views this Tomb without a Tear,
That e're sald Brandy, Ale, or Beer;
Ill be their change, may Maut be dear,
An Wort ay Blink
e king of Customers lies here
For Buying Drink.

That baith Paid weell, and Counted fair,
Here lies the Corps o' Mr. BLARE,
Wha o' his Drink took far mear Care,
Than o' his Meet,
That gar us a' beath Rout and Rare,
And Gowl and Greet.

DUBLIN: Printed by *J. Carson*, in *Coghill's Court, Dame-street*, 1734.

This specimen of early Strabane literature is preserved in the shape of a broadsheet, bound in at the end of a slender folio volume of the *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 1733-5, in the Halliday collection of pamphlets, Royal Irish Academy. The anonymous genius who celebrated in so touching a fashion the convivial qualities of *quarter-master Brice Blare* is unknown to the learned compiler of *Notes on the Literary History of Strabane*, nor does he figure in D. J. O'Donoghue's all embracing *Poets of Ireland*. However, peace be to his ashes; his shade, if it takes any interest in matters literary pertaining to this sphere, will, we hope, be gratified to find that the literary offspring of *A Northern Bard* has in the pages of *U.J.A.* attained to a wider fame than e'er the original broadsheet knew.

Without going into the dialect of the poem, it may be mentioned that the word *capp*, in the second stanza, is a provincialism for cup, and the *c* has the same sound in both words. In Ulster to-day a small, shallow wooden dish is termed a cap, and the Scotch have a proverb, "*I wadna kiss caps wi' sic a fellow*," *i.e.*, I would not drink out of the same vessel with him. To cap also means to stop or to turn.

Another interesting point to note is that in stanza ten Jacobite is used as a term of reproach, from which it would seem that the scribe was loyal to the house of Hanover and the protestant succession. The fear of a Stuart rising in the minds of the authorities of that day was by no means an unfounded one, for some ten years later the highland clansmen and their chiefs "perilled life and fortune for Charlie's bonnie face," in an ill-fated attempt to restore the former line; while in Dublin we find in the *County Journal* for 9th June, 1735, the year following the printing of this broadsheet, the lord mayor of Dublin issuing a proclamation against wearing white roses on the 10th June. This was the anniversary of the birth of prince Charlie.

The text has been faithfully reproduced as it stands in the original, with the exception of a single word which has been slightly altered, so that, whatever the merits or demerits of the piece, their credit is due to the author and original printer who produced this literary tribute to the memory of a worthy tosspot in the year of grace 1734.

JOHN J. MARSHALL.

Portraits of Aodh O'Neill,

Prince of Tir-owen.

By John J. Marshall.

IN the February number of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (vol. xiii.) there is an article on "Supposed Portraits of Aodh O'Neill," in which information is asked for regarding two oil paintings of O'Neill in the Grainger Collection, Art Gallery, Belfast Free Public Library. There is also a further query on this subject in the August issue, page 144.

The two O'Neill portraits in the Belfast Art Gallery are probably the originals which in 1866 belonged to C. de Gernon (*Catalogue* First Exhibition of National Portraits, Nos. 375, 378). *Nat. Dict. Biog.* Article, Hugh O'Neill.

As to query number two, regarding the "picture of the famous Earl of Tyrone, drawn in Spain after his banishment," O'Neill, by his fourth wife, Catherine Magennis, had a son, Seaghan, who entered the Spanish army, and was killed in Catalonia, 1641, and it is conceivable that there might have been a Spanish portrait of him, and not of his father, as stated by Dr. Leland, in the possession of an English nobleman, seeing that the great earl never visited Spain. On his departure from Ireland, he journeyed through France to Italy. Should this be so, and the whereabouts of this portrait be ascertained, it would be an interesting discovery.

In addition to the portraits, or supposed portraits, referred to, there is another mentioned by Gavan Duffy in "Answers to Correspondents," *The Nation*, February 7th, 1846. *Re* a gallery of Irish portraits, he says:—"A friend of ours in Cork possesses a portrait of the great Hugh O'Neill, and the family of another the portrait of Luke Wadding, the Irish friar who would not quit his Order to be a cardinal." Sir Charles Gavan Duffy is gone, so we cannot appeal to him to say if he remembers the name of the friend who was owner of the O'Neill portrait, but these lines are written in the hope that some of the Cork antiquaries who are readers of this Journal may be able to trace this picture and supply a description and photograph of it for comparison with those that the Editor has already printed.

Directory

TO THE

Seats of Downshire,

WITH THEIR

Respective Post Towns.

Alphabetically arranged.

[Abstracted from *Ireland Exhibited to England.* By A. Atkinson. London: Baldwin, Cradock, & Joy, 1823. This copy bears the stamp of the *Banbridge Reading Society, 1795*, one of the numerous literary societies founded all over Ulster at the time of the Independence. Most of the places are still in existence, but very few of the old families are now in occupation. The lists are interesting for local history and genealogy.—ED.]

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers.
Annadale	Belfast	Earl of Massarene.
Annaghnoon	Bannbridge	Richard Thomson.
Annaghclone	Dromore	Rector Dioc. Dromore.
Annahilt	Lisburn	Rector of Annahilt.
Anna's-cottage	Belfast	Christopher Strong.
Anne-borough	Castlewellan	James Moreland.
Anne-vale	Moira	Joseph Magenis,
Ardglass-castle	Killough	William Ogilby.
Ardquin	Portaferry	Rector Diocese Down.
Ardview	Killinchy	Thomas Potter.
Arnoe's-vale	Warren's-point	James Moore.
Aghaderig	Loughbrickland	Vicar Diocese Dromore.
Aughlafosher	Moira	Jasper Waring.
Agnes-ville	Hillsborough	John Anderson.
Annacloy	Down	James M'Mordie.
Annacot-bridge	Ballynahinch	William Harrison.
Annaghmoole-hill	Ballynahinch	Edmund Dogherty.
Aquaduct	Moira	John Fegan.
Aughnadromond	Moira	John Berwick.
Ballyleidy-house	Newtown Ards	Lord Dufferin.
Bangor-castle	Bangor	Hon. R. Ward.
Blairis-lodge	Hillsborough	Sir George Atkinson.
Ballee	Down	Rector Diocese Down.
Ballee-house	Down	Richard Stitt.
Ballinaskea hill	Loughbrickland	James Todd.

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers
Ballow-house	Bangor	W. S. Nicholson.
Ballyalloly	Cumber	John Hamilton.
Ballyalton	Down	John Magee.
Ballyculter	Strangford	Rector Diocese Down.
Ballydown	Bannbridge	Hugh Dunbar.
Ballydown	Bannbridge	William Hudson.
Ballydrain	Lisburn	J. Younghusband.
Ballydoogan	Down	J. Auchenlick.
Ballyedmund	Rostrevor	Alexander Stewart.
Ballyevy	Bannbridge	George Crawford.
Ballyevy-house	Bannbridge	Walter Crawford.
Ballygallum	Down	Thomas Read.
Ballygilbert	Killough	Charles Bigham.
Ballygorian	Rathfriland	James Lindsay.
Ballygowan	Cumber	Thomas Orr.
Ballyhornan	Down	Bernard Keon.
Ballyhasset	Down	Alexander Gracey.
Ballykilbeg	Down	William Johnston.
Ballykine-upper	Ballinahinch	Rev. Samuel Edgar.
Ballylintagh	Hillsborough	Samuel Cowan.
Ballylesson	Lisburn	Rev. Marcus Falloon.
Ballylisbraden	Cumber	William Cumming.
Ballymacnamea	Portaferry	John Donnan.
Ballymagannahy	Castlewellan	Patrick Duncan.
Ballymagin	Moira	John Waring.
Ballymenock	Belfast	Cunningham Gregg.
Ballymoate	Down	W. M'N. Graham.
Ballynester	Newtown Ards	Rev. Henry Dillon.
Ballyphilip	Portaferry	Rector Diocese Down.
Ballyraer	Donaghadee	Samuel D. Crumlin.
Ballysalla	Newtown Ards	James Savage.
Ballyvange	Down	Overstreet Carson.
Ballyvernon	Bangor	John Heney.
Ballyvester	Donaghadee	John Cartherwood.
Ballyward	Portaferry	H. Boden.
Ballywilliam	Donaghadee	James Arbuckle.
Ballywilly	Bangor	William Jackson.
Ballywilwill	Castlewellan	Rev. G. H. M'D. Johnston.
Banford	Rathfriland	Henry Ogle.
Banford-house	Gilford	R. Jeffrey Nicholson.
Bangrove	Rathfriland	Miss Lindsay.

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers.
Banhill	Rathfriland	Unknown.
Banvale	Rathfriland	Miss O'Neil.
Banvale	Gilford	James Uprichard.
Banview	Bannbridge	Robert M'Bride.
Banville	Bannbridge	James Foot.
Bar-hall	Portaferry	John Doran.
Barholmes	Cumber	William Wilson, jun.
Barnfort	Rathfriland	Henry Ogle.
Barnhill	Cumber	Samuel Stone.
Beech-hill	Belfast	James Fetherstone.
Belhill	Kilkeel	John Warring.
Bellmount	Belfast	William Bateson.
Bellshill	Down	John Hutton.
Belvedere	Lisburn	Andrew Durham.
Belview	Belfast	Doctor Bell.
Belview	Bangor	Stewart Bell.
Belville	Clough	E. S. Ruthwin.
Belvoir-park	Belfast	Robert Bateson.
Bessrow	Warren's-point	(V) Lieut.-Col. Moore.
Birch-grove	Gilford	Mrs. Birch.
Birch-hill	Cumber	James Birch.
Black-bridge	Balinahinch	Rev. Wiliam Moorhead.
Bleach-bank	Kilkeel	Rev. James M'Mahon.
Bloomfield	Belfast	Arthur Crawford.
Bone-castle	Down	James Hutchinson.
Boyle's-bason	Moira	Messrs. Harvey and Co.
Bright	Killough	Rector Diocese Down.
Bryan's-ford	Castlewellan	(V) C. Crawley.
Bunker's-hill	Belfast	J. T. Kennedy.
Buskill	Newry	Mrs. A. Taylor.
Bailie's-mill	Ballinahinch	William Martin.
Ballyatwood	Newtown Ards	Mrs. Hamill.
Bally-canal	Moira	Thomas Bullock.
Ballykine lower	Ballinahinch	John Armstrong.
Ballyclander	Down	Thomas Neville.
Ballycormack	Bangor	John Agnew.
Ballycreely	Cumber	John Montgomery.
Ballycreen	Ballinahinch	Richard Maitland.
Ballycroghan	Bangor	George Russell.
Ballydargan	Down	John Wilson.
Ballydian	Ballinahinch	James Melville.

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers.
Ballydonnell	Down	Samuel Craig.
Ballygowan	Moira	Andrew Miller.
Ballygreaney	Bangor	John Clancey.
Ballyhanwood	Cumber	Miss Montgomery.
Ballykeel	Cumber	John Richey.
Ballykeel	Moira	Thomas Gardiner.
Ballykine lower	Ballinahinch	John Armstrong.
Ballyknock	Hillsborough	George Stannus.
Ballyleny	Moira	D. Argo.
Ballymacarna	Ballinahinch	W. Arnett.
Ballymacarna	Ballinahinch	Robert Sturgeon.
Ballymacateer	Moira	Ralph Richardson.
Ballymacbruden	Moira	Hugh Fulton.
Ballymagleve	Ballinahinch	John Graham.
Ballymahonan	Moira	James Sloane.
Ballymurphy	Ballinahinch	Martin Armstrong
Ballymurray	Down	Samuel Dickson.
Ballyrainy	Cumber	David Jameson.
Ballyrenan	Down	William Stockdale.
Ballyrush	Cumber	Robert Montgomery.
Ballystrew	Down	William Russell.
Ballyvaston	Down	John Adair.
Ballyworfy	Hillsborough	William May.
Banogue-mills	Lurgan	John Murphy.
Barrmeen	Rathfriland	Terence Fegan
Beech-hill	Newry	— Taylor.
Begney	Ballinahinch	John M'Cashin.
Belfield	Ballinahinch	George Black.
Bellmount	Moira	George Langtry.
Belview	Rostevor	George Weir.
Bishop's-court	Down	A. Swail.
Blundel-hill	Hillsborough	Thomas Lethem.
Bootin	Cumber	John Malcomb.
Bottear	Moira	John Craig.
Bovennet	Loughbrickland	James Mollan.
Bowtown	Newtown Ards	William Bailie.
Broom-hedge	Lisburn	John Bennett.
Burleigh's-mill	Moira	William Browne.
Burren	Ballinahinch	Alexander Read.
Castlewellan-house	Castlewellan	Earl Annesley.
Castle-ward	Strangford	Lord Viscount Bangor.

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers.
Cabin-dale	Clough	Rev. Richard Wolesley.
Cabin-valley	Newtown Ards	Mrs. Porter.
Cabra	Rathfriland	Doctor Daly.
Cargagh	Down	John Bell.
Carleton-house	Lisburn	Cornelius Carleton.
Carnacaw	Down	John Williams.
Carnasure	Cumber	James Andrews.
Carnbane-house	Hillsborough	Joseph Pollock.
Carnmeen	Newry	James Coulter.
Carrodore	Donaghadee	D. Cromelin.
Castle-hill	Belfast	Joseph Gardner.
Cattogs	Cumber	Andrew Maxwell.
Charleville	Bannbridge	James C. Mulligan.
Charleville	Belfast	Charles Brett.
Cherry-valley	Cumber	Nich. De Lacherois.
Clarkhill	Castlewellan	William Murland.
Clentagh	Hillsborough	Rev. —— Thompson.
Clifton	Belfast	William Halliday.
Cloghy	Strangford	Captain John Hopkins.
Clonallen	Warren's-point	Rector Diocese Down.
Clonallon-house	Warren's-point	Rev. John Davis.
Clonduff	Rathfriland	Vicar Diocese Dromore.
Colenacran	Loughbrickland	W. E. Reilly.
Conbrook	Belfast	John Martin.
Conlig	Bangor	Joseph Miller.
Cottage	Saintfield	Rev. H. Hubert Wolsley.
Course-green	Gilford	Robert Newsom.
Courtney-hill	Newry	C. Courtney.
Craigavad	Belfast	Arthur Forbes.
Crawford's-bourn	Bangor	(V) John Crawford.
Crossan	Warren's-point	Rev. James M'Cormack.
Culcavey	Hillsborough	Nathaniel Monk.
Cultra	Belfast	Hugh Kennedy.
Cumber	Ballinahinch	A. & F. Johnston.
Cahard	Ballinahinch	William Leslie.
Carnacalie	Down	Charles Hamilton.
Carnalbana	Moira	Ralph Bullock.
Carnbane	Hillsborough	Robert J. Fowler.
Cascum	Loughbrickland	David M'Connel.
Casey's-bridge	Ballinahinch	Henry Casey.
Castle-aspire	Cumber	John Clarke.

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers.
Castle-averry	Cumber	Henry Ferguson.
Castle-screen	Down	J. Carson.
Clare	Moira	Richard Owen.
Clentagh	Down	James M'Dowell.
Clentagh	Ballinahinch	John Johnston.
Clentinagoolan	Ballinahinch	James M'Gowan.
Clogher	Down	John West.
Clover-hill	Loughbrickland	George M'Clelland.
Common-hall	Newtown Ards	John Ferguson.
Corby-rock	Ballinahinch	William Shields.
Corcreeny	Hillsborough	John M'Elevey.
Cottogs	Cumber	Andrew Maxwell.
Cott-town	Bangor	Arthur Campbell.
Creevy-argan	Ballinahinch	James Davis.
Creevy-tenant	Ballinahinch	Hugh Dunlop.
Cullentra	Cumber	Richard Henry.
Castle Ards	Donaghadee	N. de la C. Cromelin.
Cuppage-hall	Hillsborough	John Green.
Donlady	Belfast	Lady Annesley.
Dromore-house	Dromore	Bishop of Dromore.
Dairy-house	Newtown Ards	Rev. Joseph Osburne.
David's-field	Portaferry	Robert Dalzell.
Demi-ville	Lisburn	William Shaw.
Deneight	Lisburn	John Hill.
Derrylacka	Newry	John Gordon.
Derry-more	Belfast	Thomas Verner.
Dobson's-lodge	Warren's-point	W. Dobson.
Donaghaguy	Warren's-point	Rev. Samuel Arnold.
Donaghcloney	Bannbridge	Rector Diocese Dromore
Donaghmore	Newry	Vicar Diocese Dromore.
Donaghmore-house	Newry	Rev. D. Smyth.
Donover	Newtown Ards	Alexander Allen.
Downshire-road	Newry	W. Lang.
Dromantine	Newry	Arthur Ennis.
Dromara	Dromore	Vicar Diocese Dromore.
Dromballyroney	Rathfriland	Vicar Diocese Dromore.
Drombane	Moira	Ralph Bullock.
Drombeg	Lisburn	Rector Diocese Connor.
Dromboe	Belfast	Rector Diocese Down.
Dromerdan	Portadown	Alexander Donning.
Dromgath	Rathfriland	Vicar Diocese Dromore.

Name of the Place.	Post Town.	Proprietors or Occupiers.
Dromgoland	Rathfriland	Rector Diocese Domore.
Dromnabreeze	Lurgan	Matthew Studdart.
Dromnahall	Ballinahinch	James Martin.
Dundonald	Cumber	(V) Rec. Diocese Down.
Dunsfort	Killough	Rector Diocese Down.
Dame-ville	Lisburn	William Shaw.
Derry	Ballinahinch	William Shaw.
Derrydrumuck	Loughbrickland	Robert Henry.
Derry-lerry-derry	Ballinahinch	Francis Johnston.
Dree	Ballinahinch	John M'Kenny.
Dromaghlis-haw	Ballinahinch	William Clelland.
Dromgavelin	Ballinahinch	James Chambers.
Dromgiven	Ballinahinch	George Smyth.
Dromkeeragh	Ballinahinch	John Middleton.
Dromnaticonnor	Ballinahinch	William Copeland.
Dromo	Moira	— Bell.
Dromsnad	Ballinahinch	William Davey.
Dunbeg	Ballinahinch	Robert M'Ilwain.
Echlin's-grove	Donaghadee	Unknown.
Echlin-ville	Kircubbin	John Echlin.
Eden	Newry	Mrs. Bell.
Edenderry	Lisburn	Alexander Wilson.
Edenderry	Belfast	Charles Dunlap.
Eden-vale	Hillsborough	Rev. Thomas M'Clure.
Eden-vale	Dromore	William Campbell.
Eglantine	Hillsborough	Hugh Moore.
Eliza-hill	Banbridge	Robert Kelly.
Eliza-valley	Banbridge	Rev. John Rutherford.
Ellen-vale	Newry	D. Hening.
Elm-field	Gilford	Rev. John Johnston.
Ennishargie	Kircubbin	John Allen.
Edendarriff	Ballinahinch	W. Cumming.
Edenmore	Moira	Joseph Berry.
Fair-view	Gilford	Charles Frazer.
Farm-hill	Belfast	Hugh Kennedy.
Farnfad	Down	John Scott.
Ferry-quarter	Strangford	Nicholas Price.
Finnabrogue	Down	J. Waring Maxwell.
Florida	Killinchy	David Gordon.
Flower-hill	Ballinahinch	Thomas Bamber.

(To be continued.)

List of Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, etc., Printed in Newry from 1764 to 1810.

By E. R. MacC. Dix.

Part II.

(Continued from page 119.)

IN this section the list of books, etc., printed in Newry is continued from 1780 to 1799. There will be a final section down to and including 1810. The varied output of the Newry press will be noticed. That there must have been much more than is here recorded I am confident. Much printing perishes from year to year. I would again appeal to the readers of this journal if they can supplement this list by additions or corrections, or fuller particulars from copies in their possession or within their access or knowledge, to kindly communicate such to me or to the editor, and it will be embodied in a "Supplement," with due acknowledgment. One misses most in this list extant copies of the Newry newspapers. The historian of a town or country often finds in the local journals materials of value for his history, and their absence is a real loss. If any such exist, not here recorded, it is to be hoped they will be brought to light, and, if possible, deposited for safe keeping in some public library.

1780.—"The Protestant Volunteer Characterized, and the warrantableness and necessity of his appearing in arms stated and illustrated from Judges v., 2-9." A Sermon preached, December, 21st, 1799, at Donacloney, to the Volunteers of that Congregation. Dedicated to Sir Richard Johnston, Bart.) Rev. James Carmichael, Minister of Donacloney. 12mo., 48pp. 7¼ x 4⅛.—Assembly's College, Belfast; the Rev. W. T. Latimer.

N.B.—No printer is given.

1780.—"Art of Horsemanship." Laurence O'Reilly.—*Vide* J. O'Daly's Sale Catalogue, No. 20, item 356.

1780.—"The Obligation Men are under to exert themselves for the defence of their Country." A Sermon preached before the Clare Volunteers on the 9th of January, 1780. Rev. Samuel Levingston, Minister of Clare. *Daniel Carpenter.* 8vo., 32pp.—Assembly's College, Belfast; F. C. Crossle.

1781.—"The Battle of Aughrim; or, The Fall of St. Ruth." A Tragedy. Robert Ashton. *Robert Stevenson.* 12mo., 58pp.—F. J. B. and Dublin Municipal Library

1781.—"Prayers for the Use of Families." William Enfield, LL.D. *George Stevenson.* See 1771. *N.B.*—This item is uncertain

1782.—A Sermon occasioned by the death of the late Rev. George Ferguson, preached at Markethill, June 23rd, 1782. Rev. Samuel Sloane, Minister of Markethill. 32pp.—Assembly's College, Belfast.

1783.—"A Refutation *of some* Wicked *and* Malitious Falsehoods, Propogated by some of the Faculty *and their* Adherents *in* Newry, With a view to injure the practice of Doctor Palme in that *Town:* Being Letters sent from some Respectable *Ladies* and *Gentlemen,* patients of Dr. Palme's," etc., etc. 12mo., 24pp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 451, 2:—Newry Free Library

Note.—No printer is given, but there is a reference to "Gordon," printer of the *Newry Chronicle.* Following it is "An Address to the Inhabitants *of* Newry," etc, with separate pagination; 12mo., 24pp.

1783.—"The Death of Abel," in Five Books, attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. Fourteenth Edition. *D. Carpenter.* 12mo., 132pp.—E. R. McC. Dix.

1783.—"An Agreeable Surprise." A Comic Opera in Two Acts. By Mr. O'Keefe. *R. Stevenson.* 12mo., 36pp.—E. R. McC. Dix.

1783.—"An Account of the Method of Raising and Planting the Pinus Sylvestris, that is, Scotch Fir or, Pine, as now practised in Scotland," etc., etc. *R. Stevenson.* 8vo., 16pp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 461, 10.

1783.—"Some Hints on Planting." By a Planter. *R. Stevenson.* 8vo., 24pp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 461, 11.

1783.—"A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship." *J. Gordon.* 12mo., vii. and 160pp.—Brit. Mus., 3438, e., 64; Dr. Crossle.

[?]—A New Song called the *Jolly Rover,* To which are added, Molly M'Bride. Miss Craig. 16mo., 8pp., Woodcut.—R.I.A.; Song books; Vol. 4, 13.

N.B.—There is no date or printer given.

1785.—"A Collection of Family Prayers from the Devotional Writings of Baxter, Henry, Willison, Bennet, Watts, Doddridge and others," etc. Samuel Palmer. *R. Stevenson.* 12mo., viii. and 172pp.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix.

1785.—"Plain Reasons Why Dr. Watt's Imitation of the Psalms, etc., nor any other human Composition, ought to be in the Praises of the Great God, Our Saviour," etc., etc. With a short Address to Ministers, etc. Thomas Clark, V.D.M. 12mo., 32pp.—R. R. Belshaw.

1785.—"The Wounded Swain." To which are added "The Air Balloon," "A New Song, Tum Tally Ho;" "Liberty Hall," "Answer to the Farmer's Son," "Serenade." 16mo., 8pp.—Dublin Municipal Library.

1786.—"Christ, The People's Covenant." A Sermon. The Rev. R. Erskine. Tenth Edition. *D. Carpenter.* 12mo., 80pp.—R. R. Belshaw.

1786.—"The Stone Rejected," etc. A Sermon. The Rev. Ebenezer Erskine Seventh Edition. *D. Carpenter,* Sugar Island. 12mo., 48pp.—R. R. Belshaw.

Note.—Has a list of works "Lately published by the Printer."

1786.—"Douglas: A Tragedy," etc. Rev. Mr. Hume *(sic).* *R. Stevenson.* 12mo., 64pp.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix.

N.B.—"Hume" is more properly given as "Home" often.

1786.—"A Familiar Exposition of the Church Catechism, in Five Parts," etc. Venble. Isaac Mann, Archdeacon of Dublin. Fifth Edition, improved. *Daniel Carpenter,* Sugar Island. 8vo., 48pp. and paper cover; Sigs, A-C, in eights.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix.

1786.—"The Upholsterer; or, What News?" Mr. Murphy. *R. Stevenson* 12mo., 44pp.—Nat. Lib., Dublin; Joly; Plays.

1787.—"Reasons from Prophecy why the Second Coming and the Commencement of the Millenium is immediately to be expected." Third Edition. *D. Carpenter,* Sugar Island. 16mo., 32pp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 507, 6.

1787.—"Memoirs, or, *Spiritual Exercises* of Elisabeth West." Written by her own hand. *D. Carpenter.* 12mo., 184pp.—R.I.A.; H.B.; 15, A., 10.

1788.—Gordon's *Newry Chronicle* and *Universal Advertiser.* No. 1165, From Thursday, July 17th, to Monday, July 21st, 1788. Bi-weekly. No. 1174, From Monday, August, 18th, to Thursday, August 21st, 1788. Price 2d. Four pages of four columns each. *Joseph Gordon,* Bookseller, Market Street.—Nat. Lib., Dublin.

N.B.—No volume is given.

1788.—"A Friendly Caution to the Break-a-Day Men and Defenders." To which are added (2) "The Jolly Beggar-Man"; (3) "Fitzgerald's Tragedy," Second Part; (4) "The Weaver's Description," etc. 12mo., 8pp.—Brit. Mus., 11622, df., 34, 6.

1788.—Song Book, "Whiskey Friskey." To which are added (2) "The Answer to Darby O'Gallagher," (3) "The Proker," (4) "Sweet Poll of Plymouth." 12mo., 8pp.—Brit. Mus., 11621, df., 34, 9.

1788 (?)—"The Charms of Good Ale," "Shannon's Flowery Banks." *Daniel Carpenter.* 16mo., 8pp.—Dublin Municipal Library.

1790.—Sermons. Rev. H. Blair. *Carpenter.*

N.B.—This item is doubtful.

1791.—"Philemon's Letter to Onesimus on the Subject of Christ's Atonement and Divinity." Rev. William Laing, V.D.M., Minister of Newry (Secession). 8vo., 432pp.—Magee College, Derry; Pamphlets, 2, B., 35.

1792, May 17th to April 29th, 1793.—Gordon's *Newry Chronicle* and *Universal Advertiser,* Bi-weekly. Nos. 1495 to 1663. *Joseph Gordon,* Market Street. 4 pages of 4 columns each, 18in. x 11¼in.; Thursdays and Mondays.—Newry Free Library.

N.B.—No volume is given.

1793.—"Piety, the Best Policy and the Truest Patriotism." A Sermon preached at Maralin, in the County of Down and Diocese of Dromore, *April the* 19th, 1793, etc., etc. By the Precentor of Dromore. *Robert Moffet.* 8vo., viii. and 32pp., 8 x 4¾ cut down.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 656, 3; F. C. Crossle.

1793 (?)—"A Select Collection of the Most Useful Tables in Arithmetic for Young Ladies and Gentlemen." *Moffet.* 24mo.—*Vide* recent Sale Catalogue.

1794.—"No Blessings in Life equal to those of Friendship," etc. A Sermon, etc., etc. By the Curate of Mullaghvilly. *R. Moffet,* Sugar Island. 8vo.,32pp. —R.I.A., H.P., vol. 661, 6.

1794.—"An Address to the Friends of Liberty, shewing the peculiar Situation of France which rendered a Revolution necessary," etc. By the Curate of Mullaghvilly. *R. Moffet,* Sugar Island. 8vo., 8opp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 675, 1.

1797.—"Odes and Elegies, *Descriptive* and *Sentimental,* with The Patriot, a Poem." John Curry. *R. Moffet.* 8vo., Title-leaf and 160pp.—R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 721, 3; E. R. Mc. C. Dix; Newry Free Library.

Note.—Contains a List of Subscribers.

1799, March.—"A Roman Catholic Address to Parliament, With an Appendix Containing the Address of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain to His Majesty, and the Act lately passed in the British Parliament for the Relief of the Roman Catholics of England." Published and Sold by Daniel Carpenter, Sugar Island, Newry.—*Vide* Advt. in Gordon's *Newry Chronicle* for 25th March, 1799.

N.B.—Query, 1779.

1801.—Joseph Gordon, printer, died 22nd December, 1801, in Newry.—*Vide Belfast News-Letter* of 25th December, 1801.

1802.—"A Second Song in Favour of Henry Meade Ogle, one of the Representatives for the County of Louth. To which is added, "Adventures of Valentine O'Hara, the Flying Irish Highwayman." 16mo., 8pp.—R.I.A.; Song books, Vol. vi., 23.

N.B.—No printer is given.

1804.—"Royal Robe." To which are added, *The Maid's Lamentation, Tweed Side. J. Nelson.* 16mo., 8pp.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix.

1804 (?)—Play Bill, Theatre, Newry. A Broadside. Nelson's Printing Office. 13½ x 8½.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix.

1806.—"A Curious and Instructive Treatise in Two Parts. Part I.—The Universal Weather Glass, etc. Part II. contains a concise and plain account of the Wonders of our Solar System. Also all that has hitherto been discovered of the Fixed Stars. *W. Parks,* Market Street. 12mo., 72pp.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix.

1806.—"The two Sons of Oil; or, The Faithful Witness for Magistracy and Ministry," etc. Samuel B. Wylie, A.M. *James Parks.* 8vo., 96pp.—Rev. W. T. Latimer.

1806-7.—Select Sermons from the Works of the Rev. Messrs. Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine. Six Sermons, each paged separately—I., pp. 64; II., pp. 32; III., pp. 48; IV., pp. 40; V., pp. 32; VI., 47. *Robert Moffet.* sm. 8vo., 6¾ x 4.—F. C. Crossle.

1807.—Poems on Several Occasions, by a Lady, a Native of Newry. *R. Moffet.* 18mo., 114pp.—Newry Free Library; Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

1808.—"Trial of Major Campbell for Murder of Captain Boyd in a duel at Armagh." 8vo.—*Vide* recent Sale Catalogue.

1810.—"Rostrevor." A Moral and Descriptive Poem, with other Miscellaneous Pieces. William Carr. *J. Parks.* 16mo., xiv. and 138pp.—E. R. Mc. C. Dix; Brit. Mus., 11641, c., 13; Newry Free Library; R.I.A.; H.P.; Vol. 975, 6.

N.B.—Has List of Subscribers.

1810 (?)—"Say Every True Brother Amen." Come fill up a bumper, etc.

All shall yield to Masonry, with Glory Divine,
While princes and heroes promiscuosly fight.

J. Parks, Market Street. 16mo., 8pp., Woodcut.—R.I.A.; Vol. 6, 24.

1810.—"Freemasonry." A Sermon. Preached in the First Dissenting Meeting-house of Dromore to the fifteen Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons upon the 24th of June, 1810, etc., by the Rev. Robert Elliott, A.M. *James Parks,* Market Street. 8vo., 24pp., 6½ x 4 (cut down).—F. C. Crossle.

The Abbey of Holy Cross at Woodburn, near Carrig-Fergus.

By Francis Joseph Bigger.

"THE site is exactly known, but there is not a vestige of the buildings now remaining," so wrote bishop Reeves in 1847. That is now sixty years ago, and time has revealed to me what Reeves was unable to trace. It is mostly the reverse way. Whilst visiting the site recently with the farmer who now tills the lands of the old monks, traces of the foundations were pointed out to me, but what I considered of much more importance, quite a number of the carved stones of the abbey buildings had been turned up during agricultural operations. These I photoed, and W. J. Fennell made tracings and drawings of them, which are herewith reproduced. They numbered twelve in all. Eight are still at the Mount and four I conveyed to Carrickfergus and left at the church of St. Nicholas, as the safest place for their preservation. The Mount is the quaint old residence, near the abbey lands, of the late James Smiley, whose family at present resides there. It is an old house with still older walls about it. Quite close on the west side of it is a fine rath, with a sunk ditch around it, in good preservation, clearly proving the place to have been of ancient importance. Stone implements are frequently turned up in the fields. I have a fine Celt so found. The abbey lands lay between this old rath and the lough shore, on the west side of the Woodburn river. The local tradition is that the abbey lands contained about fifteen acres, and this is borne out by the old mearings. The river at this place may have been wooded long ago, as it is at present on the higher reaches, but no trees exist at present. The Shore Road has cut off a small portion of the land on the shore side still known as the Gallows Green, on which houses have been erected. This was for long the public execution place of Carrickfergus, and here William Orr suffered. In a house adjoining the lands of the Mount, known as Ellis' land, still stands "the slate house," where the resuscitation of the victim was unsuccessfully attempted. Every effort was apparently made by Chichester, the grantee of these church lands, to entirely remove and obliterate all evidence of their sacred use; withal more remains yet exist than of his own lordly palace of Mountjoy, which has entirely disappeared, and his own name has now no claim to the lands he acquired, and his present successor is about to be paid off and all rights are to be vested in the occupier. The carved stones still preserved of the ancient abbey

speak of architectural beauty, skill and former grandeur. They belonged to no mean structure, no hastily-built foundation carried them. They

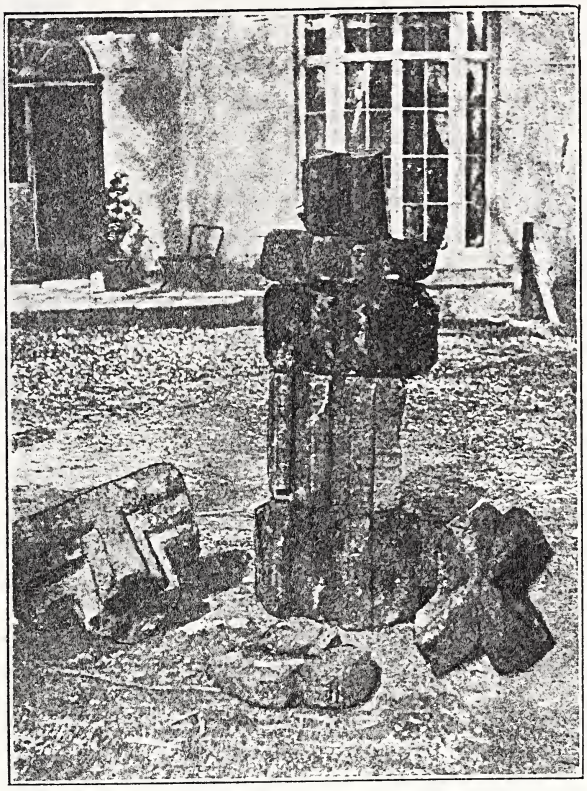


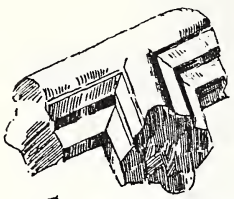
Photo by F.J.B.

SOME SCULPTURED STONES FROM WOODBURN ABBEY AT THE MOUNT.

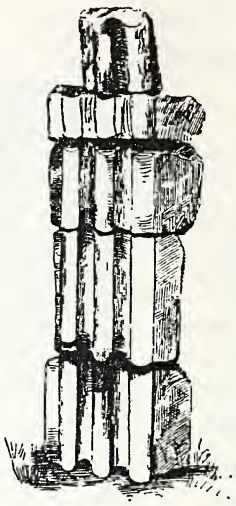
(Preserved at the Mount, Carrickfergus, 1907.)

were carved with skill and grace, and must have adorned a beautiful building. The mouldings are deeply cut in sandstone, in the early pointed style, similar to the oldest portions of Saint Nicholas, Carrickfergus, whilst one large ribbed stone from a groined roof proves that stone vaulting must have existed to a considerable extent. What a pulling down of walls and rooting up of foundations, what a havoc-making of roofs and windows, altars and tombs, must

such a ravisher as Chichester have been engaged in before the ground was cleared? And now these few carved stones turn up, like Eugene Aram's dream, telling in fervid tones of former life and beauty where now only the ploughshare strikes a stray stone, or the frosts of winter reveal a foundation track. Excavations carried out on the site with care might reveal the whole extent of the buildings, and at the same time discover other portions of the sculptor's art, if not even greater rewards.



Tracery Stone.

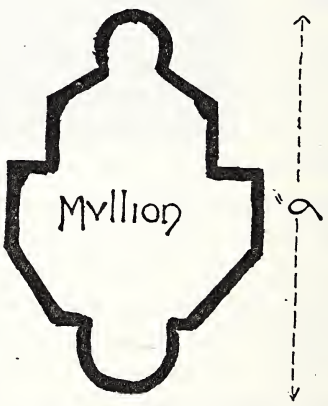


Moulded Jambs.

The following are some of the references to Woodburn Abbey. The bitter irony of the Inquisition, which found that the monks had all "voluntarily quitted said abbey" to make room for Chichester, should be noted. Jurors often bring in the verdict they are sworn to bring in; but such acts deceive no one.

Archdall's Monasticon, page 2, records as follows:—

"GOODBORN, or WOODBORN [1] not far from Carrickfergus; a priory, dedicated to the Holy Cross, was founded here for Premonstre, or White canons; it was a daughter of the Abbey of Drieburgh [2]; probably this may be the same with Druim la Croix.



"The Bissets, a powerful family in the neighbourhood of Athol in Scotland, being principally concerned in the murder of Patrick, earl of Athol, were obliged in the year 1242 to abandon their country and take shelter in this kingdom.[3]

[1] The Abbey de GOODBORN, or WOODBORN, took its name from the river Woodburne, on the left bank of which it stood, about half a mile to the west of Carrickfergus. It was commonly known as "St. Mary's Abbey." Gillerath MacCourath, or MacCura, was the last abbot. On the confiscation of the abbey lands by Henry the eighth, he, with the monks, retired to Island Magee, where they died. (King's *Collect*, p. 256.) The Franiescan, Edmund MacCana, who visited these districts about the year 1640, has left the following interesting details regarding this monastery:—"At three or four miles distance from Belfast, on the north, is an

"Alan de Galvia, Duncan de Carrig and the Bissets from Scotland, had lands given to theme here by king Henry iii[4]. Some of these probably founded this priory in atonement for the murder of that earl[5]

"In 1326, friar Roger Outlaw, prior of the Hospital of Kilmainham and lord chancellor of Ireland, granted a lease of certain lands to Longadel Manster, and dates the grant, 'apud abbatiam de Woodeborne.'

"Gillerath MacCowagh, the last abbot, resigned into the hands of the king's commissioners on the 1st day of March, 1542, the 34th year of king Henry viii.[6] The abbot was then seized of a certain parcel of land lying round the priory, and of the rectory of Entroia, and the tithes of sixteen townlands belonging to the rectory of Killaboy in the Reuts[7], the rectories of Cnolille and Conmony [Carnmoney], in the same country, and the tithes of two townlands in the island of Magee, viz., Ballyprior magna and Ballyprior parva.[4]

"Inquisition 12th November, 12th king James, finds that Gillerath MacCowragh, the last abbot, was, 1st February, 32nd king Henry viii., seized of this abbey, and a cartron of land circumjacent to the same; also of — acres of land, and the tithes thereof, the rectories of Entroia

ancient monastery of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly called WHITE-ABBEY, in Irish, MAINISTER-FHIONN, of which some portion of the walls and the rubbish are all that is now to be seen. What were its possessions is now forgotten through the troubles of the times. Not far from this is a chapel which was occupied by some monks, but to what religious house or order it belonged I could not tell, unless I were to conjecture. In Irish it is called CILL-NA-MANACH, that is 'Church of the Monks' [now Monkstown]. A portion of the walls of the chapel remains. I may, however, venture the guess that it belonged to the monastery of Goodburn, which is about two miles distant to the east, near the town of carrick-fergus, on the bank of the river Good-burn, and only one mile outside carrick-fergus, on the west. Of this monastery of Good-burn not a particle now remains, not even the rubbish; for, at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, when all things divine and human were confounded, all the stones of that old monastery were removed by a citizen of carrick-fergus into the city to build a dwelling-house beside the walls of the castle, which went by the name of the NEW WORKS, or in Irish, OBAIRNAUTH, but under the just judgment of God he was deprived by the governor of the town of both the house and other premises that were attached to it. Of this sacrilegious act, and of the merited punishment which was inflicted by heaven, I have met many eye-witnesses. I have met many persons who, when boys, saw the aged abbot of that monastery, Macura by name, but they were not old enough to think of asking to what order it belonged."

[2] War. Mon.

[3] Ridpath's Border History, p. 136.

[4] War. Mon.

[5] King's Collect, p. 61.

[6] Id. p. 256.

[7] Reuts, a district on the north-west of the county of Antrim.

[8] King's Collect, p. 61.

[Antrim], and the tithes of sixteen towns belonging thereto; the rectories of Killalog [Kildalloch] in the Reuts; — ; Cnolill and Carnmony — ; the tithes of three towns in the said parishes; and the titles of the towns of Balleprior-magna and Balleprior-parva, in the island of Magee; the whole of the annual value, besides reprises, of 10/s.—(Chief Remembrancer)."

MacSkimin, in his *History of Carrickfergus*, page 125, records as follows (the first portion being taken from Archdall):—

"About half a mile west of the town of Carrickfergus, on the west bank of the river of Woodburne, is the site of the priory of Goodborn, or Woodborn. This building was dedicated to the Holy Cross, and was a daughter of the Abbey of Dryburgh, in Scotland; and it is also supposed to have been called DRUM LA CROIX.[1] The monks were Premonstratenses, white canons. The founder of this priory is not positively known, but it is believed to have been some of the Bissets, a family who fled from Scotland about A.D. 1242, for the murder of Patrick, earl of Athol. In the reign of Henry iii, Allan de Galvia, Duncan de Carrig, and the Bissets were granted lands here, some of whom were probably the founders. In 1326, friar Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and lord chancellor of Ireland, granted a lease of certain lands to Longadel Manster, and dates the grant, 'Apud abbatiam de Woodeborne.'[2]

"By a report made February 1st, 1540, the annual value of this priory, besides reprises, was ten shillings. March 1st, 1542, Gilbreath MacCowragh, the last abbot, resigned the priory into the hands of the king's commissioners, and retired to Island Magee.[3] The abbot was then seized of a certain parcel of land lying about the priory, 'containing by estimation fifteen acres, and the tythes of said parcell of land'[4]; the rectory of Entroia, or Antrim, with a cartron of land[5] adjoining, and the tythes of sixteen townlands near the same; also the tythes of the like number of townlands in the Rents, belonging to the rectory of Killaloy, *alias* Killalog (Killdallog); likewise the rectory of Cnolille and Carnmoney, in the same county, and the tythes of two townlands in Island Magee, called Ballyprior MAGNA and Ballyprior PARVA[6], and the 'Capella de Dounemale,' *alias* Clundumales [now Drumalis, Larne], with fifteen acres of land near the same.

"For some years after the dissolution of this priory, it was, with lands adjoining, held by the crown, on which lands were grazed the horses

[1] Archdall's Monasticon. Tradition says it was also called "Mary's Abbey."

[2] Archdall's Monasticon.

[3] Archdall's Monasticon. MSS.

[4] Grants of 19th James i. to sir Arthur Chichester.

[5] A cartron of land contained 60 acres.

[6] Archdall's Monasticon.

belonging to the troops of this garrison. In 1596, we find the corporation requesting the lord deputy, that said lands might be passed to them by the government; but it does not appear that their request was complied with.[2] November 12, James i., an inquisition was held here in his majesty's castle, by virtue of a commission from the court of exchequer, before sir Roger Langford and sir Thomas Hibbots, to inquire into the right of the crown to certain lands. A jury being sworn, Neal MacDormach O'Neill, foreman, they found, that in the 34th Henry viii., the monks had all 'voluntarily quitted said abbey,' and they had all since died in Island Magee.[3] This priory, with the lands encompassing it, were soon afterwards granted by James i. to sir Arthur Chichester[4]; they are still free of tythe.[5] From vestiges that remained within memory, the priory appeared to have been extensive, and of a square form; some traces of mills, that were attached, are still to be seen.

"In a Terrier, of 1604, preserved in the archives of the bishoprics of Down and Connor, we find this priory afterwards giving name to a rural deanery, by the title of the 'Deanery of Maglennie of Vodburne' (Woodburn) to which were attached the following churches and chapels; Ecclesia de Entroia [Antrim], Ecclesia de Sthilowden, Ecclesia de Dunegure, Monasterium de Muckamore, Ecclesia de Ballymartin, Ecclesia de Ballywalter, Capella Carnigraine, Capella de Ballyrobart, Capella de Duach [Doagh], Ecclesia de Ballenalinnie, Ecclesia de Killebride, Ecclesia de Rasie, Ecclesia de Ballichor and Ecclesia de Ballinure. For all of them the Dean paid ecclesiastical dues to the bishop. By a return from the sees of Down and Connor, presented to his majesty's commissioners at Dublin, July 1, 1622, the 'Abbac de Woodburne' is noticed as charged with £2, 'procurations upon impropriate' to the bishop."

O'Laverty's *Diocese of Connor*, vol. 3, page 67, records as follows:—

"About half a mile west of Carrickfergus, on the west bank of the river of Woodburne, is the site of the priory of Woodburne, or Goodburne. It was founded by John de Courcy, for Praemonstratensian Canons, and dedicated in honour of the Holy Cross, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Hence it was called at times 'St. Mary's of Cragfergus, in the Bibliotheca Proemonstrat.' 'Duix-la-croisse' in the diocese of Connor, is given as a daughter, or affiliation of Drieburgh in Scotland.

[1] Terrier of 1604. MSS.

[2] Records of Carrickfergus.

[3] Records Rolls Office, Dublin.

[4] Grants of James I. to Sir Arthur Chichester.

[5] An attempt was made, in 1822, by the rector to subject these lands to the payment of tythes, but it failed; sir Arthur, in his grant from the crown, having been also granted the tythes, and those of land adjoining, included in the same grant.

Dr. Reeves is convinced that 'Duix-la-croisse' is another name for the abbey of Woodburne. In the year 1183, 'Willielmus, proior de Cracfergus,' witnesses one of Sir John de Courcy's charters to Down cathedral. A letter written to Henry iii. about the year 1220 by Reginald, bishop of Connor, states that the property granted to this house by de Courcy was very ample and included the rectory of St. Nicholas, but that it had then been so far reduced as scarcely to suffice for the maintenance of three canons. About the year 1257, Isaac, bishop of Connor, made a grant to Mucamore, which was witnessed by 'Johannes, Abbas de Deuleucres'—Reg. Muck. 'Frater Jo. Abbas de Deuleucres' became treasurer of Ulster. In the taxation of pope Nicholas, the 'Temporalities of the abbot of Deulacressce' was valued at £41 5s. 5d. In 1826 friar Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and lord chancellor of Ireland, dates the grant of a lease 'Apud abbatiam de Woodeborne.' Gillerath MacCourath was the last abbot. He is represented by an Inquisition as, in the year 1542, surrendering into the hands of the commissioners of Henry viii. the abbey and its possessions. The abbot was then seized of a parcel of lands lying around the priory of the rectories of Antrim, Killdollagh, Coule in Carnmoney, Ballylinney, Ballyprior in Island Magee, and the chapel of Dounmallis, at Larne. In 1527, the bishop, according to primate Cromer's registrar, appointed Bernard MacCura, abbot of Woodburne, and Donald MacKenny, rector of Kragfergush, *alias* de Petra, the vicar general of Connor, to be commissioners in his absence. An inquisition found that the abbot, whom it calls 'Gillerath MacCowragh' retired, after the suppression, with his monks into Island Magee, where they died.

"The site of the abbey and its lands were reserved by the crown in the various charters granted to Carrickfergus, and they were used as grazing grounds for the horses of the garrison. In 1604, April 5th, a grant of the monastery, and the lands around it, described as fifteen acres, together with their tithes, was made by the crown to sir Olive Lambert, by whom, on the 3rd of May, in the same year, they were made over to sir Arthur Chichester. Sir Arthur, about this time, was securing to himself immense territories within the Liberties of Carrickfergus. Of Woodburn, nothing now remains, even to mark the site. It is stated that the houses in the Irish quarter were built with the stones from its ruins. Quantities of human bones, silver and copper coins and pieces of sculptured stones, have been, from time to time, dug up on the site; and under the foundations of one of the walls, which was four feet thick, a human skeleton was found. About a furlong west of the site of the abbey are the traces of the old mill and mill-dam which belonged to the abbey."

In a note O'Laverty adds—"I may here venture a conjecture that DUIX-LA-CROISSE, DEULEUCRES, and other variations used in old writings as designations for Woodburn abbey, or priory, are mistakes of transcribers, for some such word as Dun-la-croix, or Dun-la-croisse; and that this was such a pedantic attempt of the Anglo-Norman monks to approximate in their language to DUNCRUE, the name of a funeral mound and a little church in the immediate vicinity of Woodburn, and probably a chapel belonging to it."

Reeves adds nothing to these quotations.

According to all these writers Scotland gave to Ireland, Drieburgh was the mother of Woodburn. I find an earlier connection giving credit to Ireland as the fountain head of early Western Christianity. Saint Modan, an early Celtic saint, journeyed from Ireland to Scotland previous to Norman times, and founded a Christian settlement at Drieburgh in the eighth century. The remembrance of this may have influenced the monks of Drieburgh when they journeyed to Woodburn in the thirteenth century. I consider this an important discovery in ecclesiastical lore. The church of the abbey at Drieburgh was built in the thirteenth century, and it is just possible the buildings at Woodburn, erected about the same time, were built in a similar style, although not so extensive. Drieburgh has now an added fame by reason of the burial of sir Walter Scott within its ruined walls. The monks were called white friars, by reason of the white woollen capes they wore over their cassocks, "in imitation of the angels in heaven, who are clothed with white garments," as the old chroniclers describe them.

The Tribes of Ireland.

The Part which Relates to Ulster.

A Satire.

By Aenghus ua Dhalaig.

THE following bitter satire on the old Irish families was written about 1595. It was edited by John O'Donovan, and printed in 1852 by John O'Daly, Dublin. It is now rarely met with, and is worthy of reproduction, the notes being especially valuable. Only the part relating to Ulster is given. Some slight alteration to the notes and some additions are made by the editor, as the English planters and their historians stopped at nothing in order to blacken the character of the Irish chieftains and force

Cuid Ullad.

Do ḃéarfainn 'sgan dul d'a ṫoig,
D'iarraid airgid, no ealloig;
Go d-tí an ḟairge ar fad Bhanḃa,
Cáirde do Mhac Mhaṫġaṁna!

An teaċ díola naċ díol daṁ,
'S an teaċ iomċair, gan iomċar;
Ein-neach na téid a d-tarḃa,
Do ṙén-teach Mheg Mhaṫġaṁna.

[1] Mac Matgamna (*Mac Mahon*), i.e., Mahon of Oirghialla or Oriel, which at this period comprised the entire of the County of Monaghan. Aenghus ua Dhalaig was not the only person employed to satirize this family in the reign of Elizabeth. Campion who wrote in 1567, says, that Mac Mahon signifies the *Bear's son;* and Spenser who wrote in 1596, says, that the Mac Mahons of the north were descended from the Fitz-Ursulas or De-Veres, who fled from England

the confiscation of their lands. The satirist, ᴅᴀᴛᴅ ᴛᴜᴀᴅʜ, or ᴀᴇɴɢʜᴜᴛ ɴᴀ ɴ-ᴀᴇᴛ (Angus of the satires), was specially employed to write this atrocious and annoying libel by lord Mountjoy and sir George Carew, "in order that an easy conquest might be made of the country by dint of assertion and bare-faced effrontery, which were likely to stir up their angry passions." The Irish were naturally hospitable, and to accuse them of niggardliness was exasperating. To O'Meagher of Ikerrin belongs the honour of having slain the slanderer for exceeding even his ordinary rudeness.

Many are the bitter sattres I acknowledge to have written
On the nobles and clans of Munster, but none ever requited me with a blow
Till O'Meagher gave me my death wound—I perish down-smitten
By a chieftain whom I eulogised—this is my lamentation and my woe.

The clan ᴜᴀ ᴅʜᴀʟᴀɪɢ (O'Daly) were hereditary bards. Carol O'Daly, or ʟɪᴛ ᴀɴ ᴅʜᴀʟᴀ (the fort of the blind), was noted for his music. His fort is still seen at Lisadil, in Sligo.

THE PART WHICH RELATES TO ULSTER.

I would rather than visit his house,
To ask for silver, or cattle;
Travel to the sea along Banbha [Ireland],
To give respite to Mac Mahon.[1]

The house of payment which paid not me,
And the house that sustains without a burthen;
If anyone choose to have luck,
He will shun the old house of Mac Mahon.

during the Barons' wars against Richard II. To which sir Charles Coote adds, in his *Statistical Account of the County of Monaghan*, that their ancestor had murdered St. Thomas A. Becket! For their true descent, viz. from *Mathghamhain*, lord of Farney, who was slain at Clones, A.D. 1022, see Shirley's *Account of the Dominion of Farney*, p. 140.

Sraideog Cluana tiorma tiobraid.[1]
Ḋ'aon neaċ 'na ċorp beag a ḃríġ'
Beag a h-ionad ar ċúl leice,
'S do ḃéaraḋ cuil 'na h-eite í.

Druim sneaċta an baile bog,
Gan airċinneaċ,—gan easbog,—
Gan aċt dá ċáirneaċ 'san g-Cill,
Ar ḟráid imleaċain, íṡill.

Do ḟluigfeaḋ an ċuil d'aon-ġreim uaim
Gan an-ḟocair,—gan anḃuain,—
Sreaḃan a's im ar a ṁuin,
A g-Cill Ui Ḋhunáin Doṁnuiġ.

Ċugaiḃ! Ċugaiḃ! síol na truaiġe!
Déanaiḋ an uair-si féil na marḃ;
O'Raġallaiġ an seanóin suaiḋte,
'S a ċlann ḋearóil, brúiḋte, balḃ.

Síol Saṁraḋáin na m-buailteaḋ beag,
A's iad uile ar ḃeagán bíḋ;
Dream le'r binn ceol na cuile;
Ṡeamar a m-beol gaċ ḋuine ḋíoḃ.

[1]*Cluain Tiobraid,* i.e., the lawn or meadow of the spring; now Clontobred or Clontibret, in the barony of Cremorne, and County of Monaghan. This was one of the Herenach churches of Mac Mahon's Country. The patron Saint of the church was Cruinhthear Ar, whose festival was kept on the thirteenth of June.

[2]AR CUL LEICE *(Behind a flag).* It was customary with the peasantry to use a flag-stone for a griddle, which they fixed behind the fire to bake their cake-bread upon. To this custom Aenghus here alludes.

[3]*Druim Sneachta,* i.e., the ridge or long hill of the snow, now Drumsneacht, in the same County. This was one of the poorest churches of Mac Mahon's country. Every rich church had an Archinneach. The patron of the church was the celebrated St. Molua, whose festival is celebrated on the fourth of August. The MS. called *Cinn Droma Sneachta* (the Book of Drumsnat), quoted by Keating and some older Irish writers, is supposed to have belonged to this church.

[4]*O'Dunan's church of Donagh.* O'Dunan was Herenach of the church of Donagh in the barony of Truogh, county of Monaghan. It is in the territory of the Mac CIONAIT who were Urries to the Mac Mahons. St. Patrick is the patron. See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed.* J. O'D., A.D. 1507.

[5]O'RAGALLAIG. He was Edmond O'Reilly of Kilnacrott, who died at a very

The cake of dry Cluain-tiobraid,[1]
In any one's body is of little strength;
Small is its place behind a flag,[2]
And a fly would carry it under its wing.

Druim-Sneachta,[3] the soft town,
Without a herenach,—without a bishop,—
Having but two priests in the church,
On a broad, low, street.

A fly would swallow in one morsel,
Without difficulty,—without trouble,—
The thin cake with its butter on its back,
Which I got at Ua Donnáinn Church of Donagh.[4]

Here comes! Here comes! Misery's personification!
Celebrate now the festival of the dead!
O'Reilly,[5] the decrepid senior,
And his puny, stunted, stammering sons!

The race of Samhradhan[6] of small boolies[7] [dairies],
And they all with little food;
A horde to whom the music of the fly is sweet;
A shamrock[8] is in the mouth of every one of them.

advanced age in the year 1601. See *Annals of the Four Masters,* Ed. J. O'D., A.D. 1583, p. 1806, note c; and A.D. 1601, p. 2244.

Myles John O'Reilly, of the Heath House, Queen's county, is now the representative of this old Edmond, and one would think that it was of him our author was *here speaking,* FEAR FO-TANA RO TREIG A SMIOR. Another descendant from him, by the father's and mother's side, is Myles William O'Reilly of Knock Abbey, county of Louth, who also inherits his meagreness and smallness of stature, as does another hard-featured specimen of his race, Dowell O'Reilly, attorney-general in Jamaica. Of his race also is count O'Reilly of the Island of Cuba, and John Temple Reilly, son of the late collector of the port of Galway, who was the head of the O'Reillys of Scarva, in the county of Down.

[6]*The race of Samhradhan,* i.e., the Meg-Samhradhain or Magaurans of the territory of Teallach-Eathach, now Tullyhaw, in the county of Cavan. Before 1585, this territory paid tribute to sir John O'Reilly, but, at a more remote period, Magauran had been tributary to O'Ruarc, and was considered as belonging to West Breifne and the province of Connacht.

[7]*Boolies.* See Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland,* Dublin Edition, p. 82.

[8]*A Shamrock.* See the quotation from Campion *infra,* p. ?

Taoḃ ó ṫuaiḋ do loċ Sílernn,
Bíd gan aoin-ġreim 'ṡan t-ṡaṁraiḋ;
Le teaċt bainne na n-gaḃar,
Do gníd foġail ar ṡeamraiḃ.

Caoċ an inġean—caoċ an ṁáṫair,
Caoċ an t-aṫair—ċaoċ an mac;
Ċaoċ an ċapall ḃíoṡ fá'n t ṡraṫair,
Leaṫ-ċaoċ an ċú—caoċ an cat.

Broc an ġairḃe a'ṡ áṡ glaiṡe,
Ap ar ṁéiḋ a'ṡ ar ṁío-ṁaiṡe;
Ġlidmaċ ar ġéire a ḋá ṡúl—
Sionnaċ ar ḃréine an Barún!

Pota beag a n-gar d'a glúin,
Mian do ṁianaiḃ an Bharúin;
Dóirṡe dúnta ar ḃeagán bíḋ,
A n-aigéin Ċúirte an Chluainín.

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Mar leanaid ṡíol Heaṁnainn,
Tre Ṁairḃ-linn lorg na laċain;
Leanaid Mánaiġ an u-arán,
Tré ṗoll-dalláin na ṡraṫraċ.

[1] *To the north of Loch Sileann* (Loch Sheelan), a spacious lake on the borders of the counties of Meath, Longford, and Cavan. The people here referred to are the Mac Tighearnains (Mac Kernans or Kernans), of the territory of Teallach Dunchadha (Tullyhunco), in the County of Cavan. Before 1585, this barony also paid tribute to sir John O'Reilly, but at an earlier period it had belonged to O'Ruarc, and was considered a part of Connacht.

[2] *Depredation on shamrocks.* Campion who wrote in 1567, says of the meere Irish: "Shamrotes [i.e., shamroges], Watercresses, Rootes, and other hearbes they feed upon: Oatemale and Butter they cramme together. They Drinke Whey, Milke and Beefe broth, Flesh they devour without bread; corne such as they have they keepe for their horses. In haste and hunger they squese out the blood of raw flesh and aske no more dressing thereto, the rest boyleth in their stomackes with Aquavitæ which they swill in after such a surfeite, by quarts and pottles. Their kyne they let blood which growne to a jelly they bake and overspread with Butter, and so eate it in lumpes." *Historie of Ireland*, Dub. Ed. p. 25.

To the north side of Loch Sileann,[1]
They are without any bit [of food] in summer,
But when the milk of the goats comes on,
They commit a depredation on shamrocks.[2]

Blind is the daughter—blind the mother,
Blind the father—blind the son;
Blind the horse which is under the straddle,
Half-blind the hound— blind the cat.

A badger in roughness and in greyness,
An ape in size and ugliness;
A lobster for the sharpness of both his eyes,
A fox for his stench is the Baron![3]

To have a small pot near his knee,
Is one of the habits of the Baron;
The doors are closed on little food,
In the depths of the Court of Cluainin.[4]

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As the Nemon-seed[5] is pursued,
By the ducks through the stagnant pool,
So the Managhs[6] pursue the bread,
Through the pin-hole of the straddle.

[3]*The Baron,* i.e., Conor Maguire of Enniskillen, who was called MAG-UIDIR GALLDA, i.e., the "English Maguire," and also "the baron," by the Irish, before he had actually received this English title.

[4]*Cluainin,* i.e., a small lawn, holm or meadow. This was the name of a strong stone house belonging to the "English Maguire" (Conor, son of Conor, son of Conor Mor, son of Thomas Oge), and situated near Lisnaskea in Fermanagh.

[5]*The Nemon-seed,* i.e., duck-meat, which grows on the surface of stagnant waters without a root. This quatrain has its words too much transposed. It could be arranged thus:—

As through every stagnant pool
The ducks pursue the duck-meat,
So the Fermanagh men follow the track of bread,
Through the hole of an auger or gimlet.

[6]*Managhs,* i.e., the inhabitants of Fermanagh, who were all tributary to Maguire.

Doire Brosgaid nár beannuiġ Dia;
Ta'n ġorta riaṁ ar gor 'san g-Cill;
Sraideog ṫana mar lainn éisg,
'S mar uġ loin ar ṁéis do ġeibinn.

Dá n-aoraiṅn Clann Dálaiġ,
Níor ḋí dam síol sean-Aḋaiṁ;
Clann Dálaiġ ba ḋíon daṁ,
Agus síol sean-Aḋaiṁ d'aoraḋ.

Tusa do ċur ós a g-cionn,
Ní béim ar ḟearaiḃ Eirionn;
Dual mion-tsroṫa do ṫriall go muir,
A stnaiġ ḟinn Locha Feaḃail.

Dob' olc mo ṫuras fa'n Noḋlaig,
Go tiġ Uí Dhoċartaiġ na h-Innse;
* * * * * *
A ḃ-fuaras do ḃraċán innte.

[1]Doire-Brosgaid (*Derrybrusk*). See *U.J.A.*, vol. xii., p. 125. This is the name of a celebrated church near Enniskillen in the county of Fermanagh, of which the family of MacGillachoisgle (Cosgrove), were Herenachs or hereditary wardens. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, under, the name of *Aireach Brosga*, at the years 1384, 1482, 1484, 1487, 1506, and 1514. In the *Annals of Ulster*, which were compiled in Fermanagh, it is called by both names, from which it might be inferred that the words *Doire and Aireach*, are synonymous, meaning *roboretum*, a place of oaks.

[2]*Clann Dalaigh*, i.e., the race of Dalach son of Muircheartach. This was the tribe-name of the O'Donnells of Tirconaill, at this time the most powerful family in Ireland. The Dalach from whom they derived their tribe-name was chief of Tirconaill, and was slain in the year 868. The Dalach from whom the O'Dalys (the poets) descend, was of Corca Adhaimh or *Race of Adam*, in Westmeath, and descended from Maine the brother of Conall Gulban, ancestor of the O'Donnells. The poet may have intended an equivocation here; for his own family, the poetical O'Dalys, were the Corca or Siol Adhaimh, i.e., Race of Adam!

[3]*Small streams*, i.e., as small streams flow into the sea, so small chieftains flock to thy standard and acknowledge thy superiority.

[4]*Hero of Loch Feabhail* (Foyle) at Derry. This hero was the celebrated Aodh Ruadh O'Donnell, who was treacherously taken prisoner by the lord deputy Perrot, in the year 1587, when he was in the sixteenth year of his age. He escaped from the castle of Dublin in 1590, and was re-taken the same year and confined in Dublin castle again, whence he escaped a second time in 1592, in which year he was inaugurated O'Donnell. He fled to Spain after the defeat at Kinsale in 1602, and was poisoned by a hired English assassin the same year. "He was a lion in strength, a Cæsar in command." See his character blazoned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1602, p. 2297.

At Doire-Brosgaidh,[1] which God has not blessed
Starvation is ever hatching in the Church;
A thin cake like the fins of a fish,
And like the egg of a blackbird I got on a dish.

Should I satirize the Clann Dalaigh,[2]
The race of Adam would not be a shelter to me;
The Clann Dalaigh would be a shelter to me,
Were I to satirize the race of old Adam.

To place you over their heads,
Is no disgrace to the men of Eirin;
Small streams[3] naturally flow to the sea,
O fair hero of Loch Feabhail,[4]

Sad was my visit at Christmas,
To the house of O'Doghtery[5] of the Island;
* * * * * *
Was the porridge I got there.

The race of this Aodh is extinct, if he left any. The count De Lucena of Spain, late captain general of Cuba, count O'Donnell of Austria, and Manus O'Donnell of Castlebar, descend from Con Oge, the brother of Niall garbh O'Donnell, baron of Lifford.

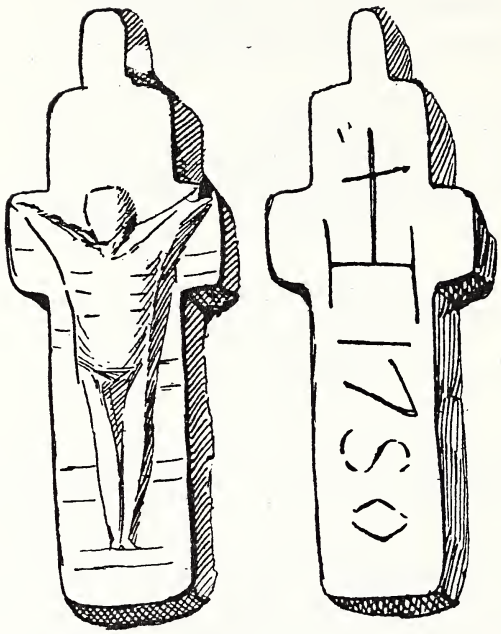
[5] *O'Dhocartaig of the Island* (O'Dogherty) of Inis in the barony of Iniseon. This was either Sir John O'Dogherty (son of John, son of Feilim), chief of Iniseon, or his son, Sir Cahir, who was knighted by lord Mountjoy for his bravery in fighting against the earl of Tireon and his followers; but who fought himself in 1608, after the flight of the earls, and lost his life in a hopeless struggle. Aenghus was afraid of the clann Dalaigh, but not, it appears, of the kindred race of the clann Fiamain or O'Dhocartaig.

The island here referred to, is Inis, in Lough Suible, on which O'Dogherty had a strong castle. The cause of sir Cahir O'Dogherty's rebellion is thus briefly explained by Sir Henry Docwra, in his *Narration of Services,* published by the Celtic Society, in their *Miscellany*:—

"Presentlie after him (Roory O'Donnell) came O'Doghertie alsoe with a lettre from my Lord [Mountjoy] to mee, to pray me to deliver him the possession of the Ile of Inch againe! which hee himselfe had past away before, first by lease for xxi. yeares, and afterwardes in fee simple for ever, both under the greate seale!! I tould him this warrant was too weak to doe what it imported, and shewed him reasons for it.....Hereuppon hee tooke it more to hearte, sent agents to deale for him in England, they prevayled not till my Lord was deade, and then with impatience led away with lewd councell besides, and conceiving himselfe to be wronged in many other thinges, hee was first brooke out into open Rebellion; but that fell out a good while after," pp. 278, 279.

(To be continued.)

Penal Cross.



THIS little crucifix came to me many years ago from Coleraine. It is made of very light wood, probably sallagh, and has a hole made sideways through the head. The date I make out to be 1720, so it corresponds with those described at page 121. The edges are worn round by use. The drawing is full-sized, so it is somewhat smaller than the one already noted. It has been hung to a rosary, for with it were 107 beads. The nineteen large ones are—two white, six amber, three dark blue, two with a rude pattern, and one a blue pentagon. The small beads (eighty-eight in number) are dark blue, translucent. All the beads are of glass, except five, which seem to be of stone, or opaque pottery.

C. H. B.

Miscellanea.

BOOK BY ROWLAND WHITE.

The book by Rowland White inquired for by the Editor *U.J.A.*, Vol. XIII. page 95, is preserved amongst the state papers:—

"1571 [March 23]. Book dedicated by Rowland White to sir William Cecill on the state of Ireland, showing the enormities and devising remedies with proposals of Acts to be passed."

Followed by a short summary. The other books by Rowland White do not appear to have been preserved, as they are not calendared.

It is to be noted that the word *book* when used in the state papers of the Tudor period does not mean a printed volume unless expressly so described, but is applied to any written composition from a volume to a single sheet.

JOHN J. MARSHALL.

THE FOUR MASTERS.

A movement is on foot to erect a Celtic Cross in the centre of the large square in Donegal town to the honour of the above. This is a most suitable place, quite near to the old abbey in which their great work was performed. Any subscriptions entrusted to me will be duly acknowledged and properly applied.

FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

QUERIES.

PIGEONS.—Can any reader tell me the origin and use of the columbaria in many of our old castles? There is a fine one in the top tower of Jordan's castle, Ardglass; there is one in the old bawn at Kilroot, and a similar one at Moore Lodge. Were the birds for food and ornament only, or were they used as carriers?—ED.

Can any reader supply me with other verses of this old song, which I picked up from an O'Neill of Galway lately? It is akin to "'Tis sweet to be in Ballinderry," and yet has its own beauties:—

"'Tis prettie to be in Baile liosan (Ballylesson),
'Tis prettie to be in green Magh luan (Malone),
'Tis prettier still in Newtownbreda,
Beaking* under the eaves in June."

* Drinking.

F. J. B.

I have culled the following three quotations from Belfast papers of nearly 150 years ago.
EDITOR.

TRADE UNIONS.

From the *Belfast News-Letter* of 21 August, 1764.

One John Dinane, a journeyman linen weaver, was publicly whipped through the city (Cork) for unlawfully entering into a combination with some other journeymen of that business in order to raise the price of their labour.—Cork, August 13, Saturday.

CATTLE-DRIVING.

From the *Belfast News-Letter* of 24 June, 1766.

Yesterday morning about 140 bullocks that were driving to Donaghadee in order to be transported out of the kingdom were stopped by a number of people at Newton [Newtownards], who drove them to this town (Belfast) without doing them any hurt, when the cattle were delivered up to the owner on his engaging to convey them back to where they came or dispose of them here. We hear these cattle were suffered to pass through Armagh by making use of the false pretence that they were for Messrs. Gregs & Company, merchants, here.

BOYCOTTING.

From the *Belfast News-Letter* of 26 January, 1768.

Thomas Hughes, of Dundalk, innkeeper, having promised to open house for Faithful Fortescue, esqr., and broken his word, Mr. Fortescue's friends have agreed never to resort to his house on any public occasion.

Dundalk, Nov. 9, 1767.

Signed,

Faithful Fortescue.
Blayney Balfour.
Blayney Townley Balfour.
John Lowther.
John Ruxton.
Henry Bellingham.
William Brabazon.
And about 70 others of the landlord class.

NOTE.—This was at the time of acute land agitation, the time of the Hearts of Steel, so Thomas Hughes was doubtless "warned" not to "open house;" he was between two stools, with the result that he was boycotted by his best customers.

QUOILE CASTLE.

This fine old Norman Keep, near Downpatrick, is in imminent danger of crumbling to ruin. At present there are great rents in the walls, and these go on widening. A few years ago its sister castle at Scatric fell away, when a slight expenditure would have saved it. Is Quoile to suffer the same way? Surely someone will recognise the responsibility and come to the rescue, and so save for future generations what the past has handed down to us.—ED.

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